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TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

CUMBERLAND & WESTMORLAND ANTIQUARIAN & ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY

(FOUNDED 1866).

VOLUME XXII.—NEW SERIES.

EDITORS

W. G. COLLINGWOOD, M.A., F.S.A.

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1. Penrith .. .. July 7th-8th.
2. Carlisle .. .. Sept. 13th-14th.
3. Carlisle .. .. April 6th.

THE GETTY CENTER

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Adopted at the Annual General Meeting, July 7th, 1921.

I.—The Society shall be called "The Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society."

II.—The Society, founded in 1866, shall have for its purpose the investigation, description and preservation of the antiquities, archæology and historical records of Cumberland, Westmorland and Lancashire North of the Sands.

III.—The Society shall consist of the original members and those who may have been or shall be elected either at a General or a Council Meeting, upon the nomination of two members.

IV.—There shall be a General Fund, and the Annual Subscription is one guinea, due and payable on July 1st in each year; and no member shall be entitled to the privileges of the Society while his or her subscription is in arrear. A composition of fifteen guineas shall constitute Life Membership; such composition-fees shall be invested. The Annual Subscription for members elected before June 30th, 1920, shall remain at the original rate of 10/6.

V.—Departments of the Society's work are:—

(1) The Parish Register Section, founded in 1911, annual subscription one guinea, for which members shall receive the yearly volume of Registers.

(2) The Research Fund, founded 1907, minimum annual subscription 10/6; subscribers shall receive special copies of reports of explorations.

(3) The Record-Publication Fund, founded 1912, minimum annual subscription 10/6, for which subscribers shall receive the volumes issued by the assistance of the Fund, up to the amount of their subscriptions.

VI.—The officers of the Society shall be a President, Vice-Presidents, an Editor or Editors, two Auditors, a Secretary or Secretaries, and a Treasurer, being honorary officers, who shall be elected at the Annual Meeting of the members of the Society.

VII.—The management of the Society shall be in a Council consisting of the officers above-named, except the Auditors, and of twelve other members, who shall be annually elected at the same time as the other officers.

VIII.—On the recommendation of the Council, the Annual Meeting may elect, either as Patrons or as Honorary Members, such as by their eminence in antiquarian studies, or for their services rendered to the Society, or for other reasons, are deemed worthy of the honour.

IX.—The Society shall hold two or more meetings in each year at some convenient place, at which papers shall be read. The printing of papers in the *Transactions* shall be left to the discretion of the Editor or Editors, whose decision on all points regarding the editing of the *Transactions* shall be final.

X.—The Council shall have power to appoint Local Secretaries and Sub-Committees to assist in the work of the Society.

XI.—The Council shall meet about the month of April to discuss the place or places at which the Annual and other Meetings of the Society shall be held in the season next ensuing.

XII.—Members may introduce guests at the ordinary meetings of the Society.

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ART. I.—*A List of the Rectors and Vicars of Dalston.* By the Rev. Canon JAMES WILSON, B.D., Litt.D.

Read at Carlisle, April 7th, 1921.

AT the Visitation of the Archdeacon of Carlisle in 1899, Dr. Prescott recommended the churchwardens to put up a tablet in the church or church porch inscribed with the names of the Incumbents of the parish and the dates of their Incumbency as far as they could be ascertained. The reasons for doing so the Archdeacon summarized in these words:

> It has become not unusual to put up in the church a tablet with the names and dates of the incumbents of the parish, so far as they are known. Such a list, if fairly complete, may become of great interest and value. It marks with singular force the continuity of the Church of England. At certain crises of her history, as in the middle of the sixteenth century, it often shows that there was no break in that ministry. To each benefice in the land men, for the most part, succeeded in the ordinary course. There was no great secession or ejection. And when some speak ignorantly of the Old Church and the New Church, we may read plainly enough on the tablet that it was ever the same grand church of our fathers, the Church of England.*

In furtherance of this scheme I have compiled a preliminary list with approximate dates of some events connected with the rectors and vicars of Dalston. There are many gaps in the list which, I hope, will be filled up by further research. The model I have adopted is that set by the late Mr. Thomas Iredale in his paper on 'The Rectors† of Workington,' with which I had myself something to do. Lists of the incumbents of parishes are of little historical value unless every statement is

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* *Carlisle Patriot,* 19th May, 1899.

† These *Transactions,* N.S. X., 135-147.

authenticated by reference to trustworthy sources. This rule has been observed, as far as possible, in the present study.

At the outset it may be necessary to point out that the ecclesiastical status of the church of Dalston has been different from that of Workington for some centuries. The church of Workington has always remained rectorial, and its incumbents have been always rectors, whereas the church of Dalston only continued rectorial, when its incumbents were rectors, up to 1304, after which date it was made vicarial when all the incumbents became vicars. It is perhaps appropriate that we should glance at the history of the advowson of Dalston in order to make the title of this paper clearer and to account for the difference in the ecclesiastical status of the earlier and later incumbents.

The manor of Dalston or Daleston, to which no doubt belonged the advowson of the church, escheated to the Crown by reason of the felony of the lay owner in the twelfth century. The issues of the manor were first accounted for in the *Pipe Roll* * by the sheriff of Cumberland in 1187. In consequence of the escheat the patronage of the church came into the king's hand together with the manor. King Richard appointed the rector and the appointment was confirmed by King John.† In the early years of the reign of King Henry III., Dalaston appears in the list of the churches ‡ of Cumberland in the gift of the Crown. In 1230, however, the manor of Dalston and the advowson of the church § were bestowed on the Bishop of Carlisle, since which date the patronage of the church has been exercised by the bishops.

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* *Pipe Rolls of Cumberland* (ed. Hinde), p. 48 : *V. C. H. Cumb.* i. 362.

† *Rot. Chartarum* (Rec. Com.), p. 119*b*.

‡ *Testa de Nevill* (Rec. Com.), p. 379a : *V.C.H. Cumb.* i. 420.

§ Charter Roll, 14 Hen. III., pt. ii., m. 10 : *Rose Castle*, p. 200-202.

The bishop's position in the parish was almost unique. His chief residence was there: he was lord of the manor and patron of the church, the feudal as well as the ecclesiastical superior of the parishioners. This predominance had a curious result in 1285. Bishop Ireton had some good reason for dealing drastically with the revenues of this rectory which he considered too much for the maintenance of one parson. It may be admitted that the issues of the church of Dalston were abundant, and the bishop, apparently on his own authority, proceeded to make a more useful disposition of them. As the deed is printed in the Appendix, little may be said here of its contents. From this ordinance it will be seen that the endowments of the benefice were divided into three portions, allotted respectively to the new incumbent that was appointed with the title and status of perpetual vicar, to the archdeacon of Carlisle, and to the diocesan school of Carlisle.* The rector at the time of the redistribution apparently retired, as he was a consenting party to the transaction, and the bishop had a free hand. One cannot withhold a word of admiration for the administrative ability of the statesman prelate who embraced in one comprehensive scheme such a heterogeneous assortment of diocesan agencies.

The tripartite distribution of the revenues of the benefice did not last many years. After bishop Ireton's death in March, 1292, King Edward, ignoring the ordinance of 1285 as illegal, appointed one of his clerks to the benefice of Dalston. The upshot of the debacle is recorded on one of the Close Rolls. Whereas the king, the statement proceeds, lately presented his clerk to the

* The portions into which the revenues of the benefice were divided, evidently meant to be equal, were taxed in 1291, six years after the ordinance, as follows: portion of the vicar, £12 16s. 0d.: portion of the archdeacon, £15: and portion of the school, £16 (*Pope Nich. Tax*, pp. 318-9, Rec. Com.). The taxation of Dalston was always a puzzle before the discovery of Bishop Ireton's deed in the episcopal register at York.

church of Dalston, void and pertaining to the king's presentation by reason of the voidance of the see of Carlisle, and the vicar-general has not admitted him at the king's presentation to the church by pretext of an inquisition taken concerning the voidance thereof, in which it was alleged that the benefice was not void because it was divided into three parts by ordinance of the late bishop of Carlisle, whereof the portioners are still living and are incumbent, as was contained in the vicar-general's letters patent under his seal, which the king has seen. The bishop had not power to make any division of the church without the king's special assent which he never obtained. As the king was bound to consider the church in the same condition as it was at the time of the ordinance, to wit, that it was void rightfully, and as it would redound to the prejudice of the Crown if he suffered division to be made in it, the vicar-general is ordered to admit and institute the king's clerk without delay. The ordinance of 1285 was accordingly annulled: the portioners, archdeacon, school and perpetual vicar, were ejected: and the king's nominee was instituted as rector, receiving the whole issues of the benefice.*

The succeeding bishop, however, set covetous eyes on the rich rectory of Dalston, about which he formed a plan with care and which he carried out with success. The Scottish troubles had brought him only woe and impoverishment. The bulk of the revenues of the parish, in which he lived, would be a relief to him in his great need. In 1301 he sought and obtained the king's permission † to appropriate the church to his own table at the next voidance, and with the archbishop's concurrence he assigned a suitable stipend out of the rectorial revenues for the maintenance of future vicars, reserving the greater

* *Cal. of Close Rolls*, 1288-96, pp. 263-4.

† *Cal. of Patent Rolls*, 1292-1301, p. 569.

portion to himself and his successors. From this period the church of Dalston became a vicarage with an endowment as set out in the bishop's ordinance of 1307. The documents, touching the appropriation, have been recorded in the episcopal registers * and are easily accessible. Not only did the bishop reserve to himself the greater tithes of the parish, but he took away from the incumbent all the glebe land, except the old rectory-house and the small garden behind it.† Fortunately a rental or schedule of the old glebe land in 1329 has survived. Such a record is so interesting and so rare that I have ventured to append it.‡

In a list of the incumbents of a parish, it is always desirable to scrutinize closely the succession during the critical periods of the Reformation and the Commonwealth. The Tudor changes in the church did not disturb the tenure of the vicar of Dalston: George Bewley remained incumbent of the parish from 1535 till his death in 1570.§ But it was otherwise in the Cromwellian period where a real difficulty arises owing to the inconclusiveness of the available evidence. That Edward Baker was undisturbed in his pastoral care of Dalston from his collation in 1643 to the end of 1650 admits of no doubt. At the manor court held on 22nd May, 1650, as Edward Baker clerk, he had pleas of recovery 'for church dueties,' and on 5th November following, for the recovery of tithes (*pro decimis*). Soon after the latter

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* *Reg. of John de Halton* (ed. Thompson), i., 282-3, 286-7. The date of the king's licence to appropriate is 8th Feb., 1301: that of Archbishop Corbridge, 29th March, 1301: of the confirmation of his successor, Archbishop Greenfield, 19th February, 1307: and of the final taxation of the vicarage by Bishop Halton, 4th July, 1307.

† The bishop reserved a small plot of the garden for the erection of a grange. It was near the river on the east side of the churchyard. In the last century this plot was occupied by a cottage and croft, which the vicar and churchwardens purchased for the extension of the burial ground.

‡ Appendix ii.

§ See under George Bewley.

date, a change of some sort must have been made in the administration of the benefice. On 22nd April, 1656, on the relinquishment of Nathaniel Madder, 'the last incumbent,' the authorities of the Commonwealth appointed Christopher Jackson, minister of the Word, to the said vicarage and church, who was admitted on 13th June following, and afterwards received issues therefrom.* But in the manor rolls of 11th October, 1658, when he was admitted with 'Garthruth' his wife as tenants of a house and some land in Dalston, he is described only as 'clerke.' In the same rolls, however, after the death of Baker, the canonical incumbent, Jackson is described on 21st December, 1659, as 'rector of Dalston.' Christopher Jackson, 'clerke, and Gartrude his wife' were returned on 30th January, 1660-61, as tenants of the manor of Dalston by copy of court roll according to the custom of the manor.

These proceedings, though puzzling, are not altogether inconsistent with notices of Edward Baker at this extraordinary period in the same rolls. No record of his sequestration has been found, and he certainly acted as an official of the church of Dalston to the end of his life, whether it was as vicar, curate, churchwarden or parish clerk. His name appears among the churchwardens on 11th November, 1655, when they were suing the old churchwardens in the manor court for the loss of the Communion Plate. On 19th October, 1659, about a month before his death, as Edward Baker, clerk, he had a plea in the said court 'for Easter reckinings.' It is also curious that the entries in the parish register † continue under his name, after the manner of his canonical predecessors, from his collation in 1643 till his death in 1659, when John Browne, parish clerk, began under a

* The Cromwellian documents have been printed in full by Nightingale, *The Ejected of* 1662, i. 241-4.

† Wilson, *Parish Registers of Dalston*, i. 196.

new title with 'Edward Baker, clerk' as the first entry among the burials 'since 17 of November, 1659.' Whatever Baker's ecclesiastical status was in the opinion of the Cromwellian authorities after 1650, it is clear that his official connexion with the parish church in some capacity continued till his death.

In this list there is no attempt to write biographical notices of the several incumbents of Dalston. My only ambition is to make the list as complete as possible and to set the names, for which there is trustworthy evidence, in chronological order. An appended date to a name during the medieval period does not necessarily designate the beginning or end of an incumbency: it is merely a guide to determine the position of the name in the list. Sometimes it is a known date or an approximate date in the individual's incumbency. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, owing to the absence of the Carlisle Episcopal Registers, it will be seen that the list is far from exhaustive: and the same may be said of the fifteenth century for the same reason. It has not been considered necessary to authenticate the dates of incumbencies since the Restoration in 1660 by references to the folios in the Bishop's Registers. The academic degrees of modern incumbents have been mostly taken from the records of institution or other good sources. References to rectors or vicars of Dalston, whose names do not appear in this list, will be gratefully acknowledged.

Rectors.

Americ Thebert, 1196.

By charter, dated 10th February, 1204, King John confirmed to Americ Thebert, archdeacon of Durham and Carlisle, the archdeaconry of Carlisle and the church of Daleston, which archdeaconry and which church he had by grant of his brother King Richard.* But as Americ

* *Rot. Chartarum* (Rec. Com.), p. 119b.

had the archdeaconry of Carlisle from King Richard * in 1196, it is probable that he had the church at the same time. The name of this rector is subject to much variation in early documents. The connexion of the church of Dalston with the archdeaconry in the twelfth century does not seem to have commenced with Archdeacon Americ. It is quite possible that previous archdeacons had held the benefice. In 1186-8, when the sheriff accounted for the issues of the vacant archdeaconry,† the revenues of Dalston are included amongst them. As I have no direct evidence, however, I have omitted their names from this list.

ROBERT DE PIKERING, 1204.

By letters patent,‡ without date but recorded amongst those issued on 10-12th June, 5 John, 1203, Robert de Pikering had letters of presentation to the church of Daleston which the king gave him. But the date conflicts with the evidence of the charter roll confirming Americ in Dalston. It would appear that Robert's presentation was made by mistake or the entry on the patent roll has been inserted under the wrong year. Of the two errors, the latter is most likely: hence I have regarded the dominical year as 1204 at the earliest. Undated fragments like this presentation, inserted in odd places of the roll, perhaps where a vacant space was available, are always a difficulty. The regnal year of King John, which varied according to the incidence of Ascension Day, adds to it.

JOHN DE KIRKEBY, 1224.

In pleadings *De Quo Warranto* § of Westminster in 1292, it was alleged that Henry III. presented John de

* Hoveden, *Chronica* (R.S.), iv. 14.
† *V.C.H. Cumb.*, i. 362.
‡ *Rot. Litt. Pat.* (Rec. Com), p. 30b.
§ *Placita de Quo Waranto* (Rec. Com.), p. 112.

Kirkeby to the church of Dalston and that he was admitted and instituted on such presentation. The Bishop of Carlisle denied the king's right to do so, as the advowson was bestowed on one of his predecessors in 1230, unless the presentation had been made during the vacancy of the See. The jury upheld the bishop's contention. But the presentation could have been made before 1230, when the advowson was in the king's hand. The date of this incumbency to be drawn from this evidence is sufficiently vague. In a list of the churches in Cumberland of the king's gift, it is stated that 'the church of Dalaston,* which John de Kirkeby holds by the (papal) legate † as it is said,' is enumerated among them. This evidence of exact date is no clearer, but it appears to show that he had been appointed to Dalston before the king bestowed the advowson on the bishop in 1230. But as William de Lancastre and Thomas fitz John, who had a hand in drawing up the list of churches, were associated in the administration of Cumberland in 1226, and as the bishopric was vacant in 1223-4, we have ventured a guess on the approximate date of this incumbency.

JOHN DE NOKETON, 1251.

Master John de Noketon, parson of Dalston, witnessed a deed, 'data anno gracie M°CC° quinquagesimo primo,' whereby Prior Robert and the convent of Carlisle confirmed an ordinance of Bishop Silvester of Carlisle, touching the church of Crosthweit to the abbey of Fountains.‡

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* *Testa de Nevill* (Rec. Com.), p. 379 : *V.C.H. Cumb.*, i. 420.

† The mention of this authority, when the individual legate is not named, does not help us, as the papal legate could supersede the bishop in filling a vacant benefice.

‡ Cotton MS. Tiberius C. xij (Reg. of Fountains),ff. 326-7.

ROSTAND, 1257.

Master Rostand, subdeacon and papal chaplain, was presented, on 12th April, 1257, to the church of Dalston,* in the king's gift by reason of the voidance of the bishopric of Carlisle. Bishop Vipont had died in October, 1256. As Rostand was a papal agent in England and held many benefices, it is probable that Dalston saw little of him.

ROBERT DE ERMINGWAYT, 1260.

In the king's court † at Westminster on 3rd November, 45 Henry III., Thomas de Goldington impleaded Robert de Ermingwayt, parson of the church of Daleston, for 20 marks which he owed him and unjustly detained. He is described in 1264 as Master Robert, rector of Dalston, professor of canon law.‡ From the nature of the work he was doing, he must have been regarded as a jurist of some distinction.

JOHN DE BERDEFELD, 1284.

John de Berdefeld, after solemn and careful discussion with Bishop Ireton on the future disposition of the revenues of the church of Dalston, § voluntarily withdrew from the benefice that an ordinance might be made in favour of the archdeacon and school of Carlisle and the perpetual vicar to be appointed in spiritual charge of the parish.

THOMAS DE LEYCESTRIA, 1285.

Thomas de Leycestria was appointed to succeed Berdefeld as perpetual vicar at some date shortly before 21st February, 1285, the date of the ordinance. See last entry. A person of this name, Thomas de Leycestre,‖

* *Cal. of Patent Rolls*, 1247-58, p. 549.
† Curia Regis Roll, no. 169, m. 36d.
‡ *Whitby Chartulary* (Surtees Soc.), i. 283, 287.
§ Appendix i.
‖ *Reg. of John de Halton* (ed. Thompson), i. 216-7, ii. 180.

was instituted to Kirkebistephen in 1304 and died in 1319.

JOHN DE DROKENESFORD, 1292.

The king presented John de Drokenesford * during the vacancy of the See caused by the death of Bishop Ireton in 1292. The vicar-general of Carlisle refused to institute him on the ground that the benefice was not vacant, but the king insisted and quashed all opposition as already stated. He was instituted by the Archbishop of York † on 23rd May, 1292. In 1298 Drokenesford had papal licence, at the king's request, to retain Dalston ‡ as well as other benefices. He is best known as keeper of the king's wardrobe. His withdrawal from Dalston is somewhat suspicious. On 8th February, 1301, Bishop Halton had the king's licence to appropriate the benefice, § and on 14th February he gave a bond ‖ to Drokenesford, with security on the manor of Horncastle, that he and his successors should pay him an annuity of £40 for life. The bond was not for a personal debt: it was confirmed by the chapter. It is afterwards stated that Dalston had become vacant by Drokenesford's resignation. ¶ In consequence, no doubt, of this arrangement between him and the bishop, the appropriation took place in due course. John de Drokenesford was the last of the rectors of Dalston.

VICARS.

GILBERT DE DERLINGTON, 1304.

Collated by Bishop Halton on 12th January, 1304, under the name of Gilbert de Dernington, deacon. On

* *Cal. of Close Rolls*, 1288-96, pp. 283-4.
† *Reg. of John le Romeyn* (Surtees Soc.), ii. 105.
‡ *Cal. of Papal Letters* (R.S.), i. 577.
§ *Cal. of Patent Rolls*, 1292-1301, p. 569.
‖ *Reg. of John de Halton* (ed. Thompson), i. 138.
¶ *Cal. of Papal Letters* (R.S.), ii. 39.

19th September following, Gilbert de Derlington, *vicarius ecclesie de Dalston,* was ordained priest. He became vicar of Staynwegg on 18th February, 1310.*

J. DE KARLEOLO, 1310.

Collated † on 26th March, 1310.

HENRY HUND', 1356.

Richard de Aslakby, chaplain, was collated on 7th November, 1356, after the death of Henry Hund', the last vicar.‡ The date of his collation has not been ascertained.

RICHARD DE ASLAKBY, 1356.

Collated as in last entry: vicar of St. Michael, Appleby, in 1362: will proved on 2nd November, 1369.§ At his institution to Dalston personal residence was enjoined according to the requirement of the constitution of the legate, Cardinal Otho, in 1237.‖

ROGER DE LEDES, 1358.

Personal residence was again enjoined *iuxta formam constitutionis legati,* as in last entry, when Roger de Ledes, chaplain, was collated ¶ on 28th August, 1358. He had been for a short time vicar of Aspatria.

JOHN DE MIDELTON, 1369.

Collated ** on 6th October, 1369. John de Dalston, by his will, proved on 24th October in the same year, left him a benefaction.††

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* *Reg., of John de Halton,* i. 215, 223, ii 13-14.
† *Ibid.,* ii. 14-15.
‡ Reg. of Bp. Welton, MS., f. 27.
§ *Testamenta Karleolensia,* pp. 96-7.
‖ *Constit. Dom. Othonis* (Lyndwood), p. 36: Johnson, *Canons,* ii. 160.
¶ Reg. of Bp. Welton, MS., f. 48.
** Reg. of Bp. Appleby, MS., f. 176.
†† *Test. Karleol.* (ed. Ferguson), p. 96.

JOHN DEL MARCHE, 1371.

He had been vicar of Kirkandres (on Eden) and exchanged benefices with John de Midilton. Collated to Dalston * on 17th September, 1371. His will † was proved on 6th February, 1379, by which he desired his body to be buried in Dalston churchyard, or elsewhere as God should appoint.

JOHN DE ALANBY, 1378.

Collated ‡ on 25th June, 1378, after the death of John del Marche, the last vicar, with injunction of personal residence as before. His effort to make an exchange with John Mason, rector of Croglin, in the following February, does not seem to have been successful. See next entry.

JOHN MASON, 1379.

By an inquisition,§ taken by the bishop in the chapel of Rose on 7th February, 1379, it was stated that an exchange of benefices was desired between John de Alanby, vicar of Dalston, and John Mason, rector of Croglin; that Croglin was not vacant as yet: that the church was not pensionary or portionary, and that it was valued at 10 marks. The record ends cryptically with *presentatus ad eandem*, which Nicolson and Burn || interpreted as collation 'by the Bishop himself.' But inasmuch as William de Hoton was instituted in 1380 to Croglin on the resignation of John Mayson instituted to Torpenhow, it seems clear that no exchange with Alanby of Dalston had taken place.

JOHN NORTON, 1379.

To the subsidy, granted by the clergy of Carlisle to

* Reg. of Bp. Appleby, MS., f. 231.
† *Test. Karleol.* pp. 124-5.
‡ Reg. of Bp. Appleby, MS., f. 298.
§ *Ibid.*, MS., f. 302.
|| *Hist. of Cumb.*: ii. 322, 433.

King Richard II. in the second year of his reign, called the *malum subsidium*, John Norton, vicar of Dalston, was assessed at £10 a year,* the tax being 2s.

ROBERT DE LOWTHIR, 1385.

In a return made in pursuance of a mandate from the papal collector in England of monies due to the pope, dated 15th May, 1385, Bishop Appleby gave a list of defaulters in his diocese, amongst whom was Robert de Lowthir: 'dominum Robertum de Lowthir vicarium ecclesie parochialis de Dalston ex causa provisionis sibi facte per sedem Apostolicam excommunicatum esse publice ac solempniter denunciamus in vicaria sua predicta et in aliis ecclesiis vicinis, nec cessabimus donec aliud a uobis habuerimus in mandatis, et fructus vicarie sue fecimus sequestrari, ipsumque dominum Robertum citavimus et monuimus iuxta formam in mandato uestro contentam.' † In 1393, Master Robert Lowthyr, priest, of Carlisle was made a papal chaplain.‡

WILLIAM BARGETT, 1475.

William Bargett, vicar of Dalston, appears as tenant of several parcels of land in the manor of Dalston in an old rental § of the bishopric, undated but perhaps about 1475, as appears by the internal evidence.

JOHN BLADESMYTH, 1492.

In the *compotus* ‖ of Master Robert Fisher, clerk, diocesan registrar, for the year preceding 11th March, 1493, John Bladesmyth is excused payment of the fee 'de institutione sua in vicariam de Dalston.' Bladesmyth was rural dean of Carlisle at the time of his collation.

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* P.R.O. Clerical Subsidies, $\frac{60}{1}$, m. i. diocese of Carlisle. For the writ enjoining payment of the tax, see Reg. of Bp. Appleby, MS., ff. 312-4.

† Reg. of Bp. Appleby, MS., f. 362.

‡ *Cal. of Pap. Letters* (R,S.), iv. 287.

§ MS. in Diocesan Registry.

‖ *Ibid.*

GEORGE BEWLEY, 1535.

George Bewley was vicar of Dalston throughout the difficult period of the Reformation movement. His name appears in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* * of 1535, and he remained vicar till his death in 1570. It is also found in the manorial rolls of Dalston at the court held on 6th October, 1546: 2nd March, 1547: 27th November, 1549: and 31st May, 1553: in the latter entry he is styled 'Sir George Bewlye, vyker of Dalston.' There is no evidence of his deprivation in the reign of Queen Mary, or of his restitution in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. He is not reported as absent when the Act of Uniformity was put in force in Carlisle Cathedral † in October, 1559. On 31st March, 1570, Marke Edgar, his successor, was collated ‡ to Dalston 'post mortem naturalem Georgii Bewlye, clerici, ultimi incumbentis.'

MARK EDGAR, 1570.

Collated as in last entry: vicar of Stanwix § in 1579, when he is styled 'verbi Dei minister,' holding both benefices till his death. In the record of the collation of his successor, Thomas Nicholson, it is said that he succeeded to the benefice 'post mortem naturalem magistri Marci Edgar,' the last incumbent,‖ the title perhaps implying that he was a graduate.

THOMAS NICHOLSON, 1586.

Collated as above: ordained deacon in Rose chapel on 7th August, 1580, and priest in Carlisle Cathedral on 8th April, 1581, on the recommendation of John Dalston of Dalston. Buried ¶ in Dalston on 19th October, 1594.

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* *Valor Ecclesiasticus* (Rec. Com.), v. 281.
† S. P. Dom. Elizabeth, vol. x. ff. 87, 90, etc.
‡ Reg. of Bp. Best, MS., f. 29.
§ Carl. Epis. Reg. MS., iii. 106.
‖ Ibid. iii. 149.
¶ *Parish Reg. of Dalston* (ed. Wilson), i. 147.

ROBERT COLLYER, B.A., 1595.

Collated * on 16th February, 1595, and styled 'bachelor of arts.' Ordained deacon and priest in Dalston church on Palm Sunday, 1587. At the manor court of Dalston in 1599, he was presented by Thomas Mydleton of Carlisle for the detention of a book called 'The booke of Marters,' but the complainant did not pursue the action. Buried in Dalston † on 30th October, 1630.

WILLIAM GRIFFITH, 1630.

In 1631 the bishop certified to the Exchequer, among his recent institutions, 'William Griffin ‡ ad vicariam de Dalston.' William Griffen, vicar of Dalston, had a plea in the manor court on 5th February, 1634, and another as William Griffith, clerk, on 20th March, 1638. Buried in Dalston § on 6th December, 1642.

EDWARD BAKER, B.A., 1643.

Collated on 4th January, 1642-3, and described as bachelor of arts and 'verbi Dei predicator' on the presentation of Archbishop Ussher.‖ For his troubles while vicar of Dalston, see above, pp. 5-7. Buried in Dalston ¶ on 18th November, 1659.

RICHARD GARTH, M.A., 1661-3.

Collated ** on 4th October, 1661, 'per mortem naturalem, cessionem aut resignationem ultimi incumbentis ibidem, sive quocumque alio modo legitime iam vacantem.' Removed to Bromfield where his epitaph ††

* Carl. Epis. Reg. MS., iii. 187.
† *Parish Registers of Dalston*, i. 177.
‡ Carl. Epis. Reg. MS., iii. 275.
§ *Par. Reg. of Dalston*, i. 188.
‖ Carl. Epis. Reg. (Ussher), MS., f. 312.
¶ *Par. Reg. of Dalston*, i. 196.
** Carl. Epis. Reg. Stern, MS., f. 99.
†† It has been copied by Bishop Nicolson and printed in his *Miscellany Accounts* (ed. Ferguson), p. 27, from which we learn that 'Bromfield's pastor', died in 1673.

still exists under an arch in the north wall of the sanctuary.

JOHN WALKER, M.A., 1664—1714.

Collated * on 3rd February, 1664, and buried *infra ecclesiam* † on 18th August, 1714.

THOMAS BENSON, M.A., 1714—27.

Collated ‡ on 22nd October, 1714: afterwards D.D., and prebendary of Carlisle: son-in-law of Bishop Nicolson: founder of Benson's Charity for the poor of Dalston.

WILLIAM NICOLSON, M.A., 1727-31.

Collated § on 13th August, 1727: buried in Dalston ‖ on 4th March, 1731. Son of John Nicolson of Hawkesdale Hall in Dalston and educated at Queen's College, ¶ Oxford, not at Trinity College, Dublin, as sometimes stated.

JOHN STORY, M.A., 1731-76.

Transferred ** from Thursby on 3rd April, 1731, and buried in Dalston †† on 12th September, 1776, aged 86 years.

WILLIAM PALEY, D.D., 1776-93.

Collated on 2nd December, 1776: canon, archdeacon and chancellor of Carlisle: distinguished philosopher and author: removed to Stanwix in 1793.

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* Carl. Epis. Reg. Stern, MS. f. 255.

† *Par. Reg. of Dalston*, ii. 236.

‡ Carl. Epis. Reg. Nicolson, MS., f. 341.

§ Carl. Epis. Reg. Waugh, MS., f. 677.

‖ *Par. Reg. of Dalston*, ii. 247.

¶ *Alumni Oxonienses* (1715-1786), p. 1024, ed. J. Foster

** Carl. Epis. Reg. Waugh, MS., f. 775.

†† *Par. Reg. of Dalston*, ii. 272.

WALTER FLETCHER, M.A., 1793—1846.

Collated 1st August, 1793; buried in Dalston in 1846. In the chancel there is a medallion portrait by Musgrave Watson: chancellor of Carlisle, 1814—46.

JOHN WOODHAM DUNN, M.A., 1846-53.

Removed to Warkworth.

RICHARD HENRY HOWARD, M.A., 1853-65.

Founder of the National School. Resigned.

THOMAS HENRY FITZPATRICK, M.A., 1865.

Had been vicar only a few months: died at Hallfield before new vicarage was built.

EDMUND CARR, M.A., 1866-83.

Honorary canon of Carlisle and examining chaplain for Bishop Waldegrave.

THOMAS JOHN COOPER, M.A., 1883-8.

Honorary canon of Carlisle: removed to Grange-over-Sands.

JAMES WILSON, B.D., Litt.D., 1888.

APPENDIX I.

This *Ordinacio* or instrument about the church of Dalston, dated 21st February, 1285, is so interesting in the appropriation of ecclesiastical benefices in the diocese of Carlisle that a copy of it should be within easy reach of the members of this Society. The deed has been transcribed by Mr. William Brown, president of the Surtees Society, from the Register of Archbishop John le Romeyn of York (MS. ff. 131-2) and was printed by the present writer with Mr. Brown's approval in the *Scottish Historical Review* (vol. v. 297-303) in 1908. When the Archbishop's register was printed in 1917 for the Surtees Society (vol. cxxviij), Mr. Brown, the editor, did not include the text of the deed in the edition (p. 90), but only directed attention to the pages of the Review where it

could be found. In these circumstances it seems desirable that the terms of the *ordinacio* should be more widely known. As there are no diocesan muniments of Carlisle for that date, we are indebted to the good old custom of confirmation by *inspeximus* for its preservation in the archiepiscopal registers of York. There is no need for a fresh exposition of its terms here. The provisions of the ordinance are quite clear.

(Register of John le Romeyn of York, MS., ff. 131-2).

Confirmacio metropolitica ordinacionis facte per episcopum Karliolensem super ecclesia de Dalston', sue diocesis.

Per hoc presens scriptum pateat uniuersis quod nos, Johannes, permissione etc., literas uenerabilis fratris nostri, Radulphi, eadem gracia, Karliolensis episcopi, super ordinacione ecclesie de Dalston', sue diocesis, per eundem fratrem nostrum facta, sigillo suo et sigillis Ricardi, archidiaconi Karliolensis, ac Thome de Leycestria, perpetui uicarii ecclesie prelibate, signatas, tenorem infrascriptum continentes, inspeximus et examinauimus diligenter :

Uniuersis sancte matris ecclesie filiis, ad quorum noticiam peruenerit hec scriptura, Radulphus, miseracione diuina Karliolensis episcopus, salutem in Eo quem genuit puerpera salutaris. Ecclesiasticorum prouentuum dispensacio, prudenter et fideliter administrata, per quam ministrorum ecclesie, in Creatoris preconia uoces continuas extollencium et precipue sacerdotum diuina celebrancium, numerus augmentatur : insuper et juniorum scolarium, literarum studiis ab euo primario deditorum, indulgencie subuenitur, inducit complacenciam et efficit graciam Saluatoris peculiariter promereri. Hinc sequitur quod effrenata cupiditas quorundam, ad diuicias numerosas anelancium ac modicum de spirituali profectu curancium, decenter reprimitur, et in conuentibus catholicorum dignitas Regis regum attenditur, cum contra serpentis antiqui uersucias deuotus crescat exercitus bellatorum, Christo per suos milites reuerencius famulatur, ac decus ecclesie ac clericalis ordinis celsitudo uehemencius decoratur. Ea propter affectantes diuine laudis cultum in ecclesia parochiali Beati Michaelis de Dalston', nostre diocesis, ad nostrum patronatum spectante, uenerabiliter ampliari : aduertentes eciam terras, fructus et obuenciones ecclesie predicte, que in usus unius rectoris solummodo cedere consueuerunt, ad sustentacionem posse sufficere plurimorum : solempni tractatu et diligenti prehabito, consenciente et fauente domino Johanne de Berdefeld', tunc rectore ecclesie memorate, ac se et ecclesiam suam nostre ordinacioni totaliter submittente. In

nomine sancte et indiuidue Trinitatis, ad honorem eiusdem gloriose Uirginis Marie, Beati Michaelis archangeli et omnium Sanctorum, auctoritate diocesana, de terris, fructibus et obuencionibus ecclesie prefate cum omnibus pertinenciis et aysiamentis, ad eam qualitercumque spectantibus, irrefragabiliter ordinamus quod perpetuis temporibus de bonis predictis tres fiarent et sint porciones, quarum unam assignamus perpetuo uicario, qui pro tempore fuerit, in eadem ecclesia continue ministranti et residenti, qui curam tocius parochie predicte suscipiat, habeat et agnoscat. Aliam porcionem archidiaconatui Karliolensi, propter euidentem ipsius exilitatem, annectimus. Terciam uero porcionem ad sustentacionem duodecim pauperum scolarium, per nos et successores nostros eligendorum, propter honorem et utilitatem ecclesie nostre Karliolensis, in ciuitate Karliolensi studio applicandorum, caritatis intuitu assignamus. Et has duas porciones ultimas uolumus appellari et esse simplicia beneficia uel prebendas, quarum porcionarii seu prebendarii a prestacione omnimodarum decimarum sint inmunes inperpetuum et quieti. Quequidem porciones tales sunt. Uicarius perpetuus eiusdem ecclesie, qui pro tempore fuerit, habeat et percipiat capitale edificium cum omnibus suis pertinenciis. Item omnes prouentus altaragii. Item omnes decimas minutas tocius parochie, exceptis duabus porcionibus ultimis supradictis, preter decimam feni : de qua tamen habet decimas fenorum de Magna Dalston', et de Parua Dalston', et de dominico prato nostro in Cartheumyre. Item omnes terras dominicas ad ecclesiam spectantes cum suis pertinenciis et aysiamentis, absque prestacione decimarum, preter sex decim acras in Brakanhou in territorio ville de Unthanck, et preter grangiam decime de Raghton', et preter tofta et crofta que iacent inter terras Willelmi filii Ade et Rogeri Warde, et preter tofta et crofta que iacent propinquius tofto et crofto Symonis Scort uersus occidentem. Item omnes decimas maiores uille de Magna Dalston'. Item uicarius supportabit omnia onera ordinaria debita et consueta. Ornamenta, libros et reparaciones altaris et cancelli propriis sumptibus sustinebit, ac unum presbiterum et unum subdiaconum, sufficientes et ydoneos, preter se ipsum, in eadem ecclesia continue ministraturos, exhibebit, et personaliter ibidem continue residebit. Archidiaconus, qui pro tempore fuerit, habeat et percipiat in eadem ecclesia duo tofta que iacent inter terram Willelmi filii Ade et Rogeri Warde in Magna Dalston', et sexdecim acras terre arabilis in Brakanhou in territorio uille de Unthank et grangiam decime de Raghton', cum omnibus

pertinanciis et aysiamentis, et omnes decimas bladorum et feni uillarum sitarum ultra riuum de Caldeu uersus orientem. Item decimam feni uille de Cartheu. Idem uero archidiaconus inueniet in ipsa ecclesia unum presbiterum, sufficientem et ydoneum, suis sumptibus, secundum formam nostre ordinacionis continue ministrantem: et in toftis superius sibi assignatis, edificia honesta construet in quibus idem, cum uenerit, decencius hospitari et capellanus eiusdem continue ualeat receptari. Scolares, qui pro tempore fuerint, habeant et percipiant tria tofta que iacent propinquius tofto et crofto Symonis Scort uersus occidentem, omnes decimas garbarum et feni baron[ie] de Dalston', a riuo de Caldeu uersus occidentem tam in nostris dominicis quam aliis, preter decimas garbarum de Magna Dalston,' et preter decimas fenorum de Magna Dalston' et Parua Dalston', et de dominico prato nostro in Cartheumire et de prato ville de Cartheu. Iidem uero scolares inuenient unum presbiterum, sufficientem et ydoneum, in ipsa ecclesia sumptibus suis propriis secundum ordinacionem nostram continue ministrantem, et in toftis sibi superius deputatis sufficientes domos construent, in quibus eorum presbiter possit morari. Insuper et quatuor ex ipsis, diebus dominicis et festiuis, ad eandem ecclesiam teneantur uenire, nisi aeris intemperie uel alia legitima causa fuerint prepediti. Volumus eciam et ordinamus quod presbiteri archidiaconi et scolarium, in ipsa ecclesia de Dalston' pro tempore ministrantes, uicario eiusdem et suis successoribus infra ecclesiam in obsequiis diuinis subsint et obediant humiliter et deuote: quorum unus missam de Beata Uirgine, et alius missam de Defunctis uicessim celebret horis et tempore oportunis: ipso uicario uel suo presbitero de die cotidie celebrante. Uolumus insuper quod huius ordinacionis nostre sub nobis et successoribus nostris archidiaconus, qui nunc est, ac successores sui curam, patrocinium et tutelam habeant et prestent inperpetuum. Uicarius autem et scolares predicti archidiaconis memoratis in hiis que ordinacionis huiusmodi defensio exigit et requirit, fideliter teneantur assistere et deuote parere. Set et uicarius in prima sua institucione corporale sacramentum prestare tenebitur, se presentem ordinacionem inuiolabiliter obseruaturum et nullatenus contrauenturum. Uolumus igitur et concedimus pro nobis et successoribus nostris hanc nostram ordinacionem in omnibus suis articulis secundum tenorem superius annotatum omni tempore ualituram robur obtinere perpetue firmitatis. Et in huius ordinacionis euidenciam pleniorem hanc scripturam per nostri sigilli appensionem fecimus communiri. Et magister Ricardus, tunc archi-

diaconus Karliolensis, et Thomas de Leycestria, tunc perpetuus uicarius ecclesie de Dalston', singuli pro se et suis successoribus, hoc scriptum signorum suorum munimine roborarunt. Acta in ecclesia parochiali de Dalston' nono Kal. Marcii anno Domini M°CC° octogesimo quarto (21 February, 1285) et pontificatus nostri quinto.

Prefatam igitur ordinacionem piam et prouidam attendentes, eam in omnibus suis articulis approbare censuimus, quam eciam auctoritate metropolitica confirmamus: salua nostra et nostre Eboracensis ecclesie in omnibus dignitate, testimonio presencium quas sigilli nostri munimine fecimus roborari. Data apud Rypon x kal. Septembris anno gracie M°CC° octagesimo septimo (23 August, 1287) et pontificatus nostri secundo.

Appendix II.

The following schedule forms part of a Rental of the Bishop's manors and lands in Cumberland, approved 'in festo sancti Michaelis anno domini etc. xxix°,' 29th September, 1329, and bound up at the end of the earliest extant volume of the episcopal registers of Carlisle, MS., beginning on folio 503. In later Rentals the various parcels of the old possessions of the rector are not entered together as a distinct section, but appear separately under the territorial divisions of the manor, with *dos ecclesie* as a designation of the parcel. Few particulars are given in the rental to identify the places. Lekwlf, now Lake Wolf, is a large field of 17 acres in the township of Buckabank between the mill pool and the Raughton road: Haukisdall, now Hawksdale, is one of the townships of the parish: Brakanholm is probably Brackinhow or some portion of it in Buckabank. There are three fields in the latter township, known as Near, Far, and High Priestfield, containing in all about 6 acres, which may have belonged originally to the rector of Dalston.

(Carlisle Episcopal Registers, MS., vol. i., f. 527)

Rentale terrarum ecclesie de Dalston.

de terris ecclesie.

Vicarius de Dalston tenet vnum messuagium et terram quam Gilbertus Baret tenuit et reddit xxij s. vjd.	summa, xxijs. vjd.
Idem vicarius tenet terram de Lekwlf et reddit vs. et solebat reddere xs.	vs.
Willelmus de Walby tenet terram quam Willelmus filius Agnis tenuit in Haukisdall et reddit xs.	xs.

Idem Willelmus, Robertus de Scotteby, et Johannes del Blamir pro xx acris terre in villa de Haukisdall, xxs.	xxs.
Johannes filius Alani fabri tenet terram predicti et reddit iijs. iiijd. ob.	iijs. iiijd. ob.
Johannes de Coquina tenet terram quam Robertus filius Emme tenuit et reddit iiijs. viijd.	iiijs. viijd.
Robertus filius Alani de Panatria tenet terram Willelmi ferratoris et reddit vs.	vs.
Rogerus del Blamir et Johannes Boget tenent ij acras terre quas Adam filius Radulfi tenuit et reddit xxd.	xxd.
Rogerus del Blamir, Robertus et Johannes del Blamir tenent terram de Brackanholm et reddunt vs.	vs.
Adam Kant tenet vnum messuagium et vnam acram terre in Dalston et reddit iijs.	iijs.
Summa iiijli. iijd.	

Art. II.—*Lanercost Foundation Charter.* Part II. By T. H. B. Graham, M.A.

Communicated at Carlisle, April 7th, 1921.

LATER records relating to places mentioned in the foundation charter and Richard I's confirmation charter reflect light backward, and reveal the structure and geography of the barony of Gilsland, as it was in the founder's day. Such records are here collected and arranged under appropriate headings.

Lanercost.

The founder gave the canons, or the majority of them, free choice of a prior. That appears to have been treated as a gift of the advowson, for the canons long continued to elect their prior and to present him to the bishop for institution (*Nicolson and Burn*, ii., 499).

Willekin de Lanercost owed a fine to the king in 1195 (*Pipe Roll*).

In 1292, Matilda de Multon, lady of Gilsland, claimed free chase of "Lametoft" and Brampton, by charter of Henry III. (*Placita de quo waranto* 20 Ed. I., p. 126) and in 1328-9, Ranulf de Dacre and Margaret his wife claimed the advowson of the priory (*F.F.* no. 214)* on the pretext, perhaps, that it was a tenement held in frankalmoin of the founder and his heirs for ever (see Pollock and Maitland, *Hist. Eng. Law*, ii., pp. 135 and 147).

The lawn of Lanercost, as defined by the foundation charter, consisted in great part of a steep river-bank, affording little except rough pasture for sheep. *Landa*, according to Du Cange, was *planities inculta et vepribus*

* Calendar of Feet of Fines, these *Transactions*, N.S. vii., p. 215.

obsita, that is to say, smooth ground untilled and covered with bramble bushes. The lawn of Lanercost contained two oases—the vills of Lanerton and Birdoswald, which did not pass by the conveyance of the lawn, because they appear later as fees held immediately of the barony of Gilsland. The early history of Lanerton has been already noticed. The ordnance survey of 1867 shows that, at that point, a tongue of Lanercost parish was protruded across the Irthing and separated Over Denton from Nether Denton.

BIRDOSWALD.

Walter Bayvin, or Baynin, about 1200, gave to the monks of Wetheral 20 acres in the field of Bordoswald and all liberties within and without the vill, for the souls' health of his lords Ranulf de Vallibus and Robert his son, namely the land called "Haythwait," as far as the great oak, which stood upon the ancient fosse; from that oak, as far as the breach (*fractura*) in the wall, wherein lay the footpath (*semita*) leading from Trewermain; * from the said breach, as far as the oak standing upon the wall towards the east; and from the last-mentioned oak, as far as the fosse leading to the water-course of Irthing (*cundois de Hyrchin*). One of the witnesses was Alfred de Camboc (Prescott, *Wetherhal*, p. 223).

The premises obviously lay between the Roman Wall and the Irthing. Walter Beivin paid a mark in 1211 (*Pipe Roll*). Shortly after that date, Radulph Baynin confirmed to the said monks the same 20 acres, given by the charter of "my uncle Walter Baynin" (*Wetherhal*, p. 225). Radulph "de Bordoswald" testified a charter of 1214 (*ibid.*, p. 222), and Robert de Vallibus, lord of Gilsland, further confirmed the gift of the 20 acres, about the last-mentioned date (*ibid.*, p. 305). Simon,

* A locality with a similar name, Trewermene, Cornwall, is mentioned in 1282 (*Cal. Fine Rolls*, 10 Ed. I., p. 173).

chaplain of Wetheral, quitclaimed to his priory, in 1230-1, all the land which he held of it at Bordoswald, but acknowledged that the conveyance of the same to himself, by the chapter of St. Mary, York,* was not in his custody (*ibid.*, p. 226).

In 1295, John Gillet had 26s. of land at "Burdoswald in Irthington," held of Thomas de Multon of Gilsland by service of one-tenth of a knight's fee (*Cal. inq. p. m.*, 23 Ed. I., p. 186). The "Rental of the cell of Wetheral," dated 1490, shows that the land at Bordoswald, originally given by Walter Bainin, was still in its possession and occupied by Roland Vaux, but it produced nothing (*Wetherhal*, p. 451).

IRTHINGTON.

The village was the nucleus of the barony and the supposed residence of the founder, who had Irthington, Brampton and Walton in hand, and bestowed the advowsons of their churches upon the priory.

Elias was seneschal of Irthington (*i.e.* Gilsland) at the end of the twelfth century (*Wetherhal*, p. 242). William de Meleburn was presented to the living by the prior and convent of Lanercost in 1224, and instituted as vicar (Nicolson and Burn) and William, vicar of Irthington, attested a charter of 1239-47 (*Wetherhal*, p. 244).

Thomas de Multon married Matilda, sole heiress of de Vaux, and, in 1252, he and his wife obtained the grant of a market and fair at Braunton (*Cal. Charter Rolls*, 37 Hen. III., p. 407) with the intention, it may be, of making the capital messuage of that manor their local residence. At the death of their grandson, Thomas de Multon, in 1295, Irthington is called the "chief manor of the barony" and all the tenants of Gilsland did suit at the court there. Two freeholders were then occupants of the vill, namely, Thomas de Blatern, who held 50s. of

* Wetheral was a "cell" of St. Mary, York.

land by service of one-eighth of a knight's fee and William de Newby, who held 10 marks of land by service of one-tenth of a knight's fee (*Cal. inq. p. m.*, 23 Ed. I., p. 186, and *Cal. Close Rolls*, of the same year, p. 417). Blatern is on the Roman Wall, and Newby at the southern extremity of the parish. In 1316, the king confirmed to the priory of Lanercost some land at Prestover, in the parish of Irthington, formerly given by Thomas and Matilda de Multon (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 10 Ed. II., p. 537). Ralph de Dacre married Margaret, sole heiress of de Multon, and, on July 27th, 1335, obtained licence to fortify and crenellate his manor (*i.e.* manor house) of Naward with a wall of stone and lime (*Cal. Doc. Scot.*, iii., p. 211). Laurence de Caldre was presented to the living by the prior, in 1337, and instituted vicar (Nicolson and Burn). Richard was vicar in 1371 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 45 Ed. III., p. 81). Ralph de Dacre, son of the above-mentioned Ralph, died in 1375, and Irthington is then described as "Irchington in Brampton manor." (*Cal. esch.*, 49 Ed. III., p. 341). Nevertheless, it continued the capital of the whole barony, and in 1456-7 "Nether Denton in Gilsland" is stated to be held "as of the manor of Irthington" (*ibid.*, 35 Hen. VI., p. 275).

Laversdale.

Laversdale was an ancient fee of Irthington. Bernard de Leveresdale witnessed one of the founder's grants (Nicolson and Burn, ii., 499). Robert de Leveresdale attested charters about 1195 and 1214 (*Wetherhal*, pp. 239 and 306). Robert de Leveresdale gave dead wood at Cumwhinton to Wetheral Priory in 1223-9 (*ibid.*, p. 157) and William de Leveresdale witnessed a Wetheral charter dated June 29th, 1271, and a Lanercost charter dated 1285 (*ibid.*, p. 140). Those records cover three generations. On June 25th, 1295, William de Leveresdale held a quarter and Thomas de Leveresdale an eighth of a knight's fee of the barony (*Cal. inq. p. m.*, 23 Ed. I., p. 185)

and on March 3rd, 1296, the escheator was ordered to take into the king's hand the land of William de Leveresdale, deceased, tenant by knight-service of Thomas de Multon, a minor in the king's ward (*Cal. Fine Rolls*, 24 Ed., I. p. 371). It is described as :—

The manor of Leveresdale, held of the heir of Thomas de Multon, by service of homage and one-ninth (*sic*) of a knight's fee, doing suit at the court of Irthington every three weeks. Thomas de Leveresdale, his son, aged 40 and more, is his heir (*Cal. inq. p. m.* 24 Ed. I., p. 198).

On May 10th, 1296, it was ordered that seisin of the same should be delivered to Thomas (*Cal. Fine Rolls*, p. 373).

The last-mentioned Thomas de Leveresdale appears to have died soon after that date and to have been succeeded by his two sisters, Beatrice and Alice, for on November 16th, 1299, the escheator was ordered to take into the king's hand the land of Beatrice de Leveresdale, deceased, tenant by knight-service of the heir of Thomas de Multon (*Cal. Fine Rolls*, 27 Ed. I., p. 421) and it is described as :—

Twenty-four acres, rendering a pound of cummin. Alice her sister, aged 34, is her heir (*Cal. inq. p. m.*, of the same year, p. 431).

On June 13th, 1300, it was ordered that seisin of the same should be delivered to Alice (*Cal. Fine Rolls*, 28 Ed. I., p. 429). Alice was probably entitled to a moiety of the inheritance in her own right.

The other Thomas de Leveresdale (mentioned in 1295) died about 1307, seised of land at Camboc, and left an infant heir, Thomas (see p. 38). In 1322-3, Henry de Malton and Margaret, his wife, levied a fine concerning the manor of Leveresdale against William de Rednesse, of York (*F.F.* no. 199).

Walton.

The founder gave the vill and its church to the canons, and therefore retained the seigniory only. So begins

and ends the history of the manor of Walton, as distinguished from that of Walton Wood. To the church of Walton was annexed the chapelry of Treuerman. Soon after the foundation of Lanercost priory, an inquisition was held concerning the chapelry, and a jury of old inhabitants returned the following verdict :—

When Enoc was parson of Walton, Gillemor, son of Gilander, lord of Treuerman *and Torcrossoc*, with consent of *dominus* Edelwan,* bishop, built first of all at Treuerman a chapel of brushwood (*de virgis*) and took care that divine rites were celebrated therein, in return for the piece of land now called "Kirkland," by which it was possible to maintain a priest and his clerk, to minister and serve in the chapel. Gillemor, lord of Treuerman, admitted to the service of the chapel his relation Gillemor, the chaplain, who first of all lived on the land and had the chapel built, long before the arrival in Cumberland of Hubert de Vallibus. And while Enoc was still parson, Daniel the priest, successor of Gillemor, ministered to the chapel and held it, together with all the pasture of Treuerman. After Daniel, Estin* was priest, and ministered there in the time of Thomas, parson of Walton, after the foundation of Lanercost. In those days, the men of Treuerman had divine service there in full, except baptism and burial, until the said Thomas joined the canons of Lanercost. After Thomas joined them, *dominus* Robert de Vallibus bestowed the church of Walton, with the chapel of Treuerman, upon the house of Lanercost, which he founded.. The prior and convent caused the chapel to be served, sometimes by their own canons and sometimes by secular priests, and the men of Treuerman received all the sacraments of the church at Lanercost, rendering at that place oblations and tithe of every kind, and doing all such other acts as parishioners should perform to their mother church (*Register of Lanercost*, quoted in these *Transactions*, o.s. iii., p. 175).

Thomas, clerk of Walton, was a witness about 1175 (*Wetherhal*, p. 89). Alice, daughter of Henry the chaplain, gave the canons land at Smithefield and Cumhevin, in

* Adelulf (*or* Athelwold) first bishop of Carlisle, from 1133 till 1156 (*Vict. Hist. Cumb.*, ii., p. 13).

* Estin looks like the Norse name Eystein : Gillemor and Gilander, "servant of (the Virgin) Mary," and "servant of (St.) Andrew," are Gaelic names of the kind used by the Celto-Norse vikings.

the territory of Walton, and Alexander gave them land and rent there (Nicolson and Burn, ii., p. 498). John de Sebergham, vicar of Walton, died in 1362 (*Test. Karl.*, edit. Ferguson, p. 60), and in 1380 the prior presented Robert de Chester as vicar of Walton, but subsequently, until the Dissolution, the parish church was served by a canon of Lanercost (Nicolson and Burn, ii., p. 482).

TREUERMAN.

Transcribers of records usually write Treverman, but Treuerman seems preferable, because it harmonizes with the modern spelling and pronunciation—Tryermain. During the first quarter of the thirteenth century, Robert de Vallibus 'son of Ranulf,' and lord of the barony, granted all the vill of Treuerman to 'my brother Roland,' for homage and service (Charter quoted in these *Transactions*, o.s., iii., p. 176, and Denton, *Accompt*, edit. Ferguson, p. 163, no. 16). Robert, the grantor, was nephew of the founder, and had two knight's fees, consisting of 6 vills in demesne and 10 held by undertenants (*Red Book*, Rolls edition, p. 493); but he was greatly in debt to the king and the Jews (*Pipe Roll*, 1211) and so, on December 19th, 1212, Roland, the grantee, who was Robert's natural brother, became a hostage, in order to obtain the latter's release from prison (*Cal. Doc. Scot.*, i.,, p. 94). As a reward, he received the gift of Treuerman and was appointed seneschal and chief forester of Gilsland (*Wetherhal*, p. 120). Roland had a son named Ranulph, to whom he gave some land at Treuerman (*Accompt*, p. 163, no. 17). Roland de Vallibus, knight, was a juror on April 15th, 1247 (*Cal. Doc. Scot.*, i., p. 317). Alexander (son of Roland) succeeded to the manor and granted to Lanercost Priory rights of turbary in Treuerman (*Wetherhal*, p. 224).

On August 14th, 1271, Randolph de Vallibus, 'of Treuerman' (son of Alexander) had respite for two years of making himself a knight (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 55 Hen. III.,

p. 569) and Ranulph de Vaux, 'of Treuerman,' was in amercement for not attending the assizes held at Carlisle on November 3rd, 1278 (*Cal. Doc. Scot.*, ii., p. 34). In 1295, Robert de Vallibus, of 'Treuerman,' held one-seventh of a knight's fee in Treuerman of Thomas de Multon, lord of Gilsland (*Cal. Close Rolls*, 23 Ed. I., p. 417).

Roland de Vaux was sheriff in 1338, and obtained licence on February 4th, 1340, to crenellate his dwelling-place of Treuerman (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 14 Ed. III., p. 417).

On May 12th, 1341, the king, in consideration of the heavy loss sustained by Roland de Vaux in his lands on the Scottish march, exempted him from taking knighthood during his whole life, unless of his own accord (*Cal. Doc. Scot.*, iii., p. 248). On May 10th, 1346, Treuerman, in the parish of Lanercost, had been totally destroyed by the Scots (*Cal. Close Rolls*, 20 Ed. III., p. 30). Roland de Vaus, in 1353, enfeoffed Roland his son and Johanna, wife of the latter, of Treuerman in fee tail, with remainder to the feoffor in fee simple (*Cal. esch.*, 27 Ed. III., p. 184). He died in 1363, seised of Treuerman, subject to that settlement (*ibid.*, 36 Ed. III., p. 256). Roland, the son, appears to have died in 1371 (*ibid.*, vol. iv., appendix, p. 453).

In 1383, Roland Vaux was commissioned to enquire concerning persons, who, in close time, placed 'kiddles' in the Eden, and so prevented salmon from running up to 'weirs, draughts and fishgarths' belonging to the king and others (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 6 Rich. II., p. 286). He was a surety for the Western March in 1398 (*Cal. Doc. Scot.*, iv., p. 109); and Roland Vaux, esquire, was a commissioner of the marches in 1404 (*ibid.*, p. 141).

The arms of Roland Vaux of Treuerman were *argent*, a bend chequy * *argent* and *gules* (Papworth, *Ordinary*;

* Not counter-componé, as sometimes stated, for the bend consists of *three* rows of chequers (Robson, *Heraldry*).

and Foster, *Feudal Coats*). Those arms are emblazoned upon a tomb in the north transept of the Priory Church, and also upon the short surcoat of a mutilated effigy discovered at Lanercost (these *Transactions*, o.s. xii., p. 314). The effigy is believed to be of late fourteenth century workmanship, and may therefore represent the Roland of Richard II.'s reign.

A Roland Vaux was appointed commissioner in 1434 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 12 Hen. VI., p. 383), commissioner of array in 1448 (*ibid.*, 27 Hen. VI., p. 238), sheriff in 1451, knight of the shire in 1452-3, when he is styled 'esquire,' and sheriff in 1461 and 1466. Roland, the last male representative of the family, held Treuerman of Humphrey Lord Dacre in 1485 (*Cal. inq. p. m.* 1 Hen. VII., p. 69), and was alive in 1490 (*Wetherhal*, p. 451). Some illiterate rhymes appeared upon his tomb in Lanercost church. They bear a strong resemblance to others formerly inscribed above the monument, in Wetheral church, of his only child, Dame Jane and her husband, Sir Richard Salkeld of Corby :—

Sr Roland Vaux,
Y^t^ sometime was
Y^e^ lord of Triermaine,
Is dead
(His body clad in lead)
And ligs law under this stane.
Evin as we,
Evin so was he
On earth a levand man,
Evin as he,
Evin so monn we,
For all the craft we can.
(Denton, *Accompt*, p. 166).

The arms of Vaux of Tryermain may be discovered, with the aid of a mirror, at the back of the stone pillows, which support Dame Jane's effigy at Wetheral. At the herald's visitation, 1615, Vaux of Catterlen assumed the same arms, as one of the quarterings of his own

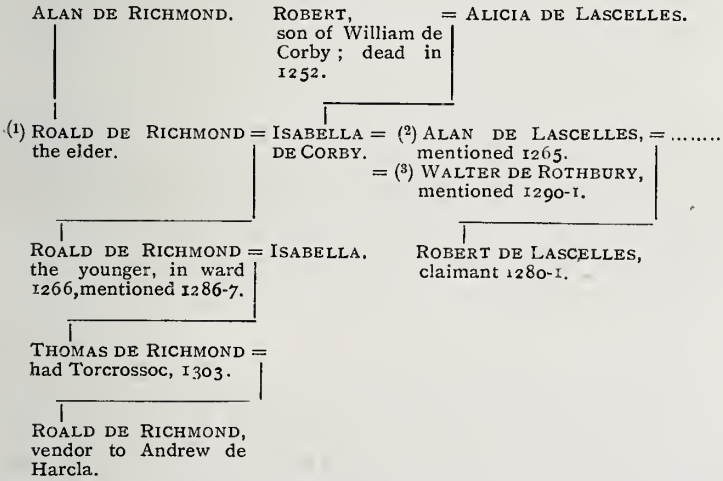
shield, and carelessly described them as:—*argent*, a bend counter-componé *or* and *gules*. His family had, about the time of Edward III., inter-married with that of Tryermain, but the circumstance did not strictly entitle him to quarter the armorial bearings of the last-named branch.

Torcrossoc.

At the beginning of the thirteenth century, a certain Adam de Vaux was underlord of Torcrossoc, and granted the manor to Robert, son of William (de Corby) for homage and service, in the presence of Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, and Robert de Vallibus (*Accompt*, p. 163). Hubert was archbishop 1193—1205 and custodian, in 1199, of the land and heir of Ranulf de Vallibus lord of Gilsland (*Pipe Roll*), and Robert was the spendthrift heir.

The grantee left an only daughter, who inherited Corby and Torcrossoc. She married Roald de Richmond, the elder (as in the following *pedigree*).

MANOR OF TORCROSSOC.



In 1252, the said Roald, "son of Alan," Isabella his wife and the prior of Lanercost were parties to a deed of composition, regarding the boundary separating Tor-

crossoc from Comquenstat (*Accompt*, p. 163). Roald de Richmond was dead in 1266, when Matilda de Multon, lady of Gilsland, had the custody of his land and infant heir, Roald de Richmond, the younger (these *Transactions* N.S. xvi., p. 97).

Isabella de Corby married, secondly, Alan de Lascelles, and had a step-son, Robert de Lascelles.

In 1280-1, Robert, son of Alan de Lascelles, levied a fine, respecting Corby and Torcrossoc, against Alan de Lascelles and Isabella his wife, but Roald de Richmond, the younger, put in a claim (*F.F.* no. 137). Roald, the younger, is mentioned in Kirkby's Inquest, 1286-7, and died leaving a son, Thomas de Richmond, who succeeded to Corby and Torcrossoc, after the death of his grandmother, Isabella.* Isabella married a third husband, Walter de Rothbury, for, in 1290-1, Walter de Rothbury, claiming in right of his wife Isabella, brought an action against Matilda de Multon, respecting an alleged encroachment on Corby Common (*Lord William Howard's MS.*, quoted by Hutchinson, i., 171). The case is cited in Coke's *Institutes*, second part, vol. ii., p. 474. Walter and Isabella de Rothbury and Robert de Lascelles were parties in January, 1292-3, to proceedings regarding land in Northumberland (*Placita de quo waranto*, p. 588).

In 1295, Walter de Rothbury had 20 marks of land at Torcrossoc, of the inheritance of Isabella his wife, and it was held by service of one-fifth of a knight's fee, of Thomas de Multon, of Gilsland (*Cal. inq. p. m.*, 23 Ed. I., p. 183).

On August 14th, 1303, Thomas de Richmond obtained free warren in his demesne lands of Corby and Torcrossoc (*Cal. Charter Rolls*, 31 Ed. I., p. 36). In 1321 Roald de Richmond, "son of Thomas," sold Corby, and evidently Torcrossoc as well, to Andrew de Harcla

* His mother was also named Isabella (*Ld. Wm. Howard's MS.*).

(*Accompt*, p. 165); and, in 1322, a certain Margery de Lascelles released all her interest in Torcrossoc to the same purchaser (*ibid.*, p. 162). But on June 28th, 1323, the manor of Torcrossoc, formerly held of the king (*sic*) * and then in the king's hand as an escheat, by the forfeiture of Andrew de Harcla, was granted, for good service, to Roland de Vaus, to hold in fee simple by service of half a knight's fee, rendering 2 marks a year at the Exchequer (*Cal. Fine Rolls*, 16 Ed. II., p. 218).

On April 4th, 1340, the king, "having regard to the great position held with him by Roland de Vaux," discharged him from payment of the 2 marks a year, for Torcrossoc granted to him by the late king (*Cal. Doc. Scot.*, iii., p. 242). Roland de Vaus obtained licence, on March 4th, 1353, to settle the manor of Torcrossoc "said to be held in chief" (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 27 Ed. III., p. 437); and he settled it in the same manner as he did Treuerman. It was regarded for a time as a tenement held in chief, and *inquisitiones post mortem* were accordingly held in 1363 and 1371 (*Cal. esch.*, vol. iv., appendix, pp. 450, 453); but it was afterwards allowed to drop into the lap of the barony.

William de Dacre, of Gilsland, was its chief lord in 1397-8 (*Cal. esch.*, 22 Rich. II., p. 229); so was Humphrey de Dacre in 1485 (*Cal. inq. p. m.*, 1 Hen. VII., p. 69). At the survey of Gilsland made in 1588 it had no separate existence as a manor, but was merged in Tryermain (these *Transactions*, N.S., xi., p. 252). Its name survives in Tercrosset.

Askerton.

Askerton comprised the tract of moorland abutting on Bewcastle. The founder gave the "two Askertons" to the priory (*Richard I's confirmation charter*). But, by a fine levied in 1256, the prior quitclaimed the manor of

* It was not so in fact.

Great Askerton to the barony of Gilsland, in return for the valuable concessions specified at the end of this paper. Consequently, Thomas de Multon died in 1295 seised of the capital messuage of Askerton; 110 acres arable, 12 acres meadow, 10 acres pasture; land held by 38 farmers; a water mill; and the herbage called "Spathe Adam" (*Cal. inq. p. m.*, 23 Ed. I., p. 185). The capital mansion did not become a castle until the time of the Dacres. The survey of 1588 is the first to mention the castle and a park called "Askerton Park" belonging to the castle (these *Transactions*, N.S. xi., p. 255), but there had been proceedings regarding "Matilda de Multon's park of Askerton" in 1285 (*ibid.*, xix., p. 107).

CAMBOC.

Robert, the founder's nephew, gave the priory common pasture only at Camboc (Nicolson and Burn, ii., p. 497). It is supposed that a family surnamed de Camboc was undertenant of the manor and its appendant advowson, so the founder could not dispose of the church. Gilbert, priest of Camboc, is mentioned about 1178 (*Wetherhal*, p. 197) and Gilbert, parson of Camboc, was a witness shortly after 1198 (*ibid.*, p. 220). Alfred de Camboc attested a charter about 1200 (*ibid.*, p. 225), Adam about 1214 (p. 223) and Walter in 1239-47 (p. 245). The three last-named may have been lords of the manor.

By charter dated March 31st, 1254, William de St. Edmund, rector of the church of Camboc, Cumberland, obtained a weekly market on Tuesday at Camboc and a yearly fair there. One of the witnesses was John de Plessetis, Earl of Warwick. The grant is extraordinary, and was perhaps made in error (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 37-8 Hen. III., p. 286). Radulf de Tilliol was rector in March, 1259, and made an agreement with the prior of Lanercost, concerning the boundary between the parishes of Camboc and Lanercost (*Wetherhal*, p. 198).

In 1259-60, Henry, son of Michael, levied a fine against

William, son of Robert, respecting Camboc, and Thomas de Multon, lord of Gilsland, put in a claim (*F.F.* no. 105). A subsequent record states that Henry de Tyrer, "father of Richard," presented his son, Simon, to the living, and by deed of composition granted to the Prior of Carlisle (who was entitled to an ancient pension of 2s. a year therefrom) the alternate right of presentation to the same (*Halton Register*, edit. Thompson, i., 219).

Edith, widow of Richard Bullok, appealed Alan de Lascelles in 1278, for instigating the murder of her husband, by four Scotsmen, in the field of Camboc; but Alan produced the King's charter, pardoning him for the offence (*Cal. Doc. Scot.*, ii., p. 34).

In 1295, Richard de Tyrer (Henry's son) held one-eighth of a knight's fee in Camboc, of Thomas de Multon, lord of Gilsland (*Cal. Close Rolls*, 23 Ed. I., p. 417).

Master Simon de Tyrer, the rector, died on Tuesday before the Assumption (August 15th) 1304, and the prior of Carlisle thereupon presented Master Alexander de Crokedayk, clerk; while Richard de Tyrer (lord of the manor) presented another clerk named Simon de Tyrer. An inquisition concerning the right of patronage was held in the following September, and the jury of clergy found that the above stated facts were true; that the Priory of Carlisle was entitled to present for that turn and Richard de Tyrer, or his heir, for the next turn, and so on in perpetuity; that Alexander was free, fit (*legitimus*), sufficiently literate, of lawful age, and had the first tonsure; and the church was worth £5 a year (*Halton Reg.* i., p. 220). Alexander de Crokedayk was therefore instituted as rector (*ibid.*, p. 219). But in February, 1305-6, the living was again vacant. Simon de Tyrer, acolyte, was again presented by Richard de Tyrer and instituted, saving the said pension accustomed and due of old, and had letters of induction directed to the archdeacon of Carlisle (*ibid.*, i., 248). He took priest's

orders in 1312 (*ibid.*, ii., 70). The church was not taxed in 1319, because it was "totally destroyed," and the prior of Carlisle did not receive his pension (*ibid.*, ii., 184-5).

On March 4th, 1307, the king, who had been staying at Lanercost, granted letters patent dated at Camboc (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 35 Ed. I., pp. 500, 543). Custody of land at Camboc, which Thomas de Leveresdale, deceased, had lately held by knight-service of the heir of Thomas de Multon, of Gilsland, was committed, on March 20th, 1307, to a grantee, during the minority of the heir (*ibid.*, p. 504). The heir of Thomas de Leveresdale was his son Thomas, aged 18 and more (*Cal. Genealog.*, p. 736). Margaret de Dacre was tenant in chief of Kirkcamboc and Little Camboc in 1362-3 (*Cal. esch.*, 36 Ed. III., p. 249). In 1369, William de Stapleton, of Edenhal, held a moiety * of the hamlet of Camboc of Ralph de Dacre, lord of Gilsland, by homage and suit of court at Irthington every three weeks, and it was worth 10s. a year (these *Transactions*, N.S. xiii., p. 216); and he and Mariota, his wife, made a settlement of the same in 1369-70 (*Cal. esch.*, 43 Ed. III., p. 301). It would appear from a record presently cited that he also held the advowson pertaining to his moiety of the manor, but the alternate right of presentation belonged to the priory of Carlisle. Bishop Appleby collated John de Southwell to Camboc by lapse in 1386 (Nicolson and Burn). William Dacre, *chivaler*, was chief lord of "Kirkcamboc" in 1397-8 (*Cal. esch.*, 22 Rich. II., p. 229).

Margaret de Stapleton, widow, was entitled to her thirds of the manor and advowson of Camboc, at her death in 1468 (*Cal. esch.*, 8 Ed. IV., p. 344).

Humphrey de Dacre, lord of Gilsland, had in 1485 Little Camboc, formerly held by tenants at will, and

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* The other moiety appears to have been vested in the family of de Leveresdale (see next page).

Kirkcamboc, held by the heirs of William de Stapleton and Robert de Leveresdale (*Cal. inq. p. m.*, 1 Hen. VII., pp. 68 and 69). Only a fragment of the church wall was standing in 1777, but the Dean and Chapter, successors of the Prior and Canons of Carlisle, used to grant leases of the rectory for terms of 21 years, at the annual rent of 5s. The lessee always covenanted to repair the church and provide a curate during the term of the lease, but there was neither church nor curate (Nicolson and Burn). The ordnance survey of 1867 represents "Kirkcambeck" as a tiny tract of extra-parochial land, and "Kirkcambeck common" as part of Stapleton parish.

Cambeck Hill, a distinct locality, was always parcel of the manor of Irthington.

Cumquencath.

The name assumes various forms in the records, owing to the copyists' confusion of the letters c and t. The founder gave the vill of Conquetach to the priory (*Richard I.'s confirmation charter*). The sheriff rendered account in 1197 of the *donum* of Robert de Cunquenetat and Clement, chaplain of Branton, respectively (*Pipe Roll*). Walter Banny * gave the priory half a carucate at Cumquenach (Nicolson and Burn, ii., 498). The bounds of Comquenstat marched with those of Torcrossoc in 1252 (*Accompt*, p. 163). Quinquat hill, in the tenure of William and Agnes de Mora, was part of Little Camboc (Nicolson and Burn, ii., 498). Cumquencath probably lay in the deep *cwm*, or hollow, overlooked by Camboc church.

Knorren.

The foundation charter does not mention Knorren beck by that name, but seems to indicate it, when describing the bounds of the ancient vill of Walton. Later on, Matilda de Multon, as a widow, gave all her land on the Knoveran beck, lately in the possession of Roger de

* He also gave it an improvement at Birdoswald (Nicolson and Burn, p. 497)

Mora, to the priory of Lanercost (Nicolson and Burn, ii., 498). The survey of 1588 includes Knorren moor in the manor of Tryermain.

WARTHERIO.

In 1295, Robert de Mora held one-eighth of a knight's fee in Brampton and one-tenth of a knight's fee in Watheriho of Thomas de Multon (*Cal. Close Rolls*, 23 Ed. I., p. 417). Thomas de Multon's inquisition, of the same year, describes the latter tenement as "20s. of land at Warcherio." In 1397-8, Wartheriok is coupled with Talkin and Cumcatch, and was held of William de Dacre (*Cal. esch.*, 22 Rich. II., p. 229). Thomas de la More held Talkin, Cumcatch and Warthryoke of Humphrey de Dacre in 1485 (*Cal. inq. p. m.*. 1 Hen. VII., p. 69). It can hardly be Warthwick-on-Eden, for that manor was never parcel of the barony of Gilsland.

WARTHCOLMAN.

Warthcolman is called a "lawn" in 1169, a "park" in 1256, and was granted to Thomas Dacre of Lanercost in 1542-3, by the description of a messuage called "Stonehouse in Wath Colman," with 11 acres arable and 50 acres meadow, in the parish of Lanercost, and common pasture on the moor called "Banksfield" belonging to the same messuage (Nicolson and Burn, ii., 501). Banks fell is marked on the ordnance survey.

BRENKIBEC.

By final concord made in 1256 between Thomas de Multon and Matilda, his wife, plaintiffs, and Walter, Prior of Lanercost, tenant of the manor of Great Askerton, defendant, the prior acknowledged that the manor was the right of Matilda, and quitclaimed the same to the plaintiffs; and, in consideration of the premises, the plaintiffs agreed that the prior should hold the land contained within the following bounds:—

Descending Sekenet' into Herteleburn; from Herteleburn to Blakeburn; and so descending to Byres. Then ascending from

Byres, up Herteleburn to the boundary between Gilsland and Tyndale ; from that boundary to the new fosse between Brenkibec and the moor of that vill. So eastward to the old fosse of the canons ; and descending that fosse into Sekenet' (*F.F.* no. 97).

The grant is fuller than the one contained in the foundation charter.

Sekenet' must be the stream flowing from the foot of Tindal Tarn and traversing the piece of ground described, on the ordnance survey, 1867, as a detached portion of *Lanercost* parish. Later editions of the survey are not so instructive, because ecclesiastical parish boundaries are now superseded by civil parish boundaries.

Blakeburn is not the Cumberland stream forming the upper course of the Hartleyburn. To suppose so makes nonsense of the grant. It is the other Blackburn across the county boundary. Byers is also in Northumberland and the anomaly is explained by the fact that, long previously, the Northumbrian landlord, Adam de Tindal, claimed rights at Brenkibec, as against the barony of Gilsland, but released his claim so far as it concerned the priory. The county maps of the eighteenth century continue to show " disputed bounds " at that point.

Brenkibec moor is probably the tract marked " extra-parochial " on the ordnance survey, 1867, and then known as " Midgeholm and Halton Lee West Fell." The final concord provided that the prior might build 20 messuages upon the premises, namely 12 in Brenkibec and 8 between Hartleyburn and Blackburn, besides a cowfold, sheepfold and scaling ; and should have another scaling on Tymelside, where Helegill falls into Tevinbeck, and common pasture on Blackburnside, Tymelside and Brenkibec moor, for the cattle in such cowfold, sheepfold and scaling. His men dwelling in the 20 messuages were to have pasture on the same three commons and rights of cutting turf on Brenkibec moor.

Burtholm and Eyketon.

By the same concord, the plaintiffs agreed to hold for the prior's benefit the land contained in the following bounds :—

Descending southward from the old (Roman) wall, down the pasture of Geytecragges to Irthing ; along Irthing to King ; and up King to the point where that stream pierces the old wall ; and then, following the wall eastward, to the pasture of Geytecragges (*F.F.* no. 97).

The last-mentioned premises lay between the priory and the vill of Walton, and comprised some land already in the prior's possession ; but the plaintiffs reserved the homage and service of Matilda de Denton and her heirs, in respect of the tenement, within those bounds, which she held of the plaintiffs. The prior and his tenants dwelling within the bounds, except the men of Eyketon,* were to have common pasture in Walton Wood, belonging to the plaintiffs, but if the cattle of the prior and his said tenants should escape and enter the manor of Askerton ; or if the cattle of the prior and his men of Bankes, Burtholm and Eyketon should cross the Irthing and enter other land of the plaintiffs no " escape " should be paid, but the damage was to be assessed by verdict of neighbours (*visnctum*).

The plaintiffs further gave the prior 6 acres in Branton, near the Irthing, and between Polterteman and Becfarlan, with liberty to enclose the same with fosse and hedge ; and agreed that the prior might similarly enclose his *park* of Wartolman, according to the bounds within which it was contained on the day of the final concord, except that the prior might claim to have a deer-leap (*saltorum*) in the same park for ever.

The prior and his men of Cumquencat were to have pannage of swine in Walton Wood. The men were to pay " pannage " but the prior was to have everything

* The name survives in Haytongate.

in pure and perpetual alms for ever. The prior might have two woodwards in his demesnes to attend the court of Irthington, do fealty of hunting, and faithfully keep the same. He might keep four greyhounds (*leporares*) and four brachets (*brachetti currentes* *) to take, in his own demesne lands and woods, foxes, hares and all other animals called *clobestræ*.† His men might carry bows and arrows throughout the barony, provided they did no harm to the deer (*feræ*) in the forest of Gilsland. He might make enclosures at his will and have free entry and exit across the premises except the park of Wartolman which he might enclose at will, and he should have, for the benefit of his servants and shepherds dwelling in the cowfold, sheepfold and scaling, common of turbary on Brenkibec moor (*F.F.* no. 97).

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* The hounds of the present day are specialized and bear little resemblance to those of seven centuries ago.

† Du Cange cites *clobus* and *clubum*, "an excavation in the soil." *Clobestra* may therefore signify an animal which burrows in the earth.

ART. III.—*The Eastern Fells. Part IV.* By T. H. B. GRAHAM, M.A.

Communicated at Carlisle, April 7th, 1921.

OUSBY.

OUSBY, formerly Ulvesby, belonged to a family which derived its surname from the manor. The sheriff accounted, in 1187, for the *donum* of Ulvebi; in 1195, for half a mark, due from Robert de Ulvesby,* for a defeasance; and the like sum from Richard and Henry de Ulvesby, respectively; and, in 1202, for five marks, due from the same Robert, for an amercement (*Pipe Rolls*). In the list of serjeanties, arrented in the time of Henry III. (1216 and onward), occur the names of the said Richard and Henry de Ulvesby, tenants by drengage (*Testa de Nevill*). Bernard, parson of Ousby, was witness to a deed of the first quarter of the 13th century (Prescott, *Wetherhal*, p. 220), and Walter, parson of Ousby, testified a charter of 1225-30 (*ibid.*, p. 354).

In 1227, a certain Robert, son of Thomas, levied two fines, concerning land in Ousby; the first *versus* Patrick de Ulvesby, the second *versus* William, son of Richard, whom Adam, son of Richard, vouched to warranty (*F.F.*† *nos.* 38 and 39).

In the first, Robert undertook to grind all corn grown on the premises at *Patrick's mill*, in Ousby, to the 20th tolfate; and, in the second, undertook to grind all corn,

* The *Red Book* (Rolls edition, p. 462) contains, under the supposed date 1212-16, the entry "Robert de Ulvesby, Stutevill, *per cornagium*." The juxtaposition of those surnames suggests that it refers to Torpenhow (see Denton, *Accompt*, edit. Ferguson, p. 51). William, son of William de Ulvesby, was party to a fine concerning Torpenhow in 1246-7 (*F.F.* no. 83).

† *Cal. Feet of Fines*, these *Transactions*, N.S., vii., p. 215.

grown on his demesne of Ousby, at *William's mill*, in the same vill, to the like amount (Wilson, *St. Bees*, p. 367).

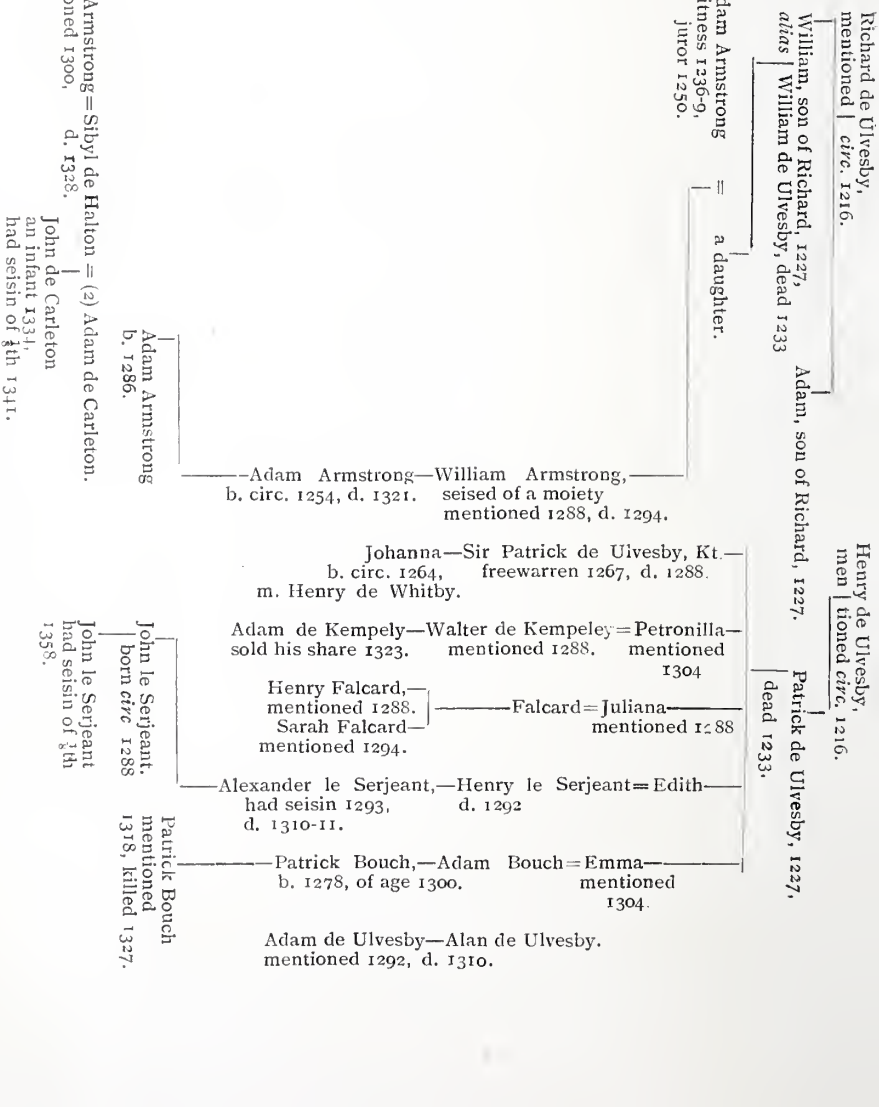
In 1233, custody of land, formerly of William and Patrick de Ulvesby, and their heirs, was given, during pleasure, for the king's benefit, to William de Ireby (*Cal. Close Rolls*, 17 Hen. III., p. 235); and, in the following year, custody of the land and heir of William de Ulvesby was committed to Alexander Bacon, who had previously obtained it from the king, but had been disseised, on the occasion of a contention between the king and Walter, Bishop of Carlisle (*ibid.*, 18 Hen. III., p. 470).

Robert de Robertby, by charter of 1236-9, gave to Wetheral Priory 3½ acres in the territory of Ousby, "of which 1½ acres lie in my croft, where my barn stands," for keeping up the light of St. Mary's altar, in the church of Wetheral, with all liberties belonging to the vill of Ousby, except multure of the 20th vessel, due to the mill of Ousby. The witnesses were Walter, parson of Ousby, then Official of Carlisle, Adam Armstrong, of Ousby, and Adam de Kempeley (*Wetherhal*, p. 292).

Records, cited below, show that about the close of the thirteenth century, one moiety of the manor had become vested in William Armstrong, of Ousby. The other moiety was divided into quarters, each equivalent to ⅛th of the whole, and belonging to Walter de Kempeley, Henry, son of Juliana Falcard, Henry le Serjeant, husband of Edith de Ulvesby, and Emma, widow of Adam Bouch, respectively. All were tenants in chief.

The *Table* on next page is intended to assist a perusal of the records, but must not be regarded as a strict pedigree. Some conclusions, based upon the evidence supplied by those records, will be presently stated.

In 1267, Patrick de Ulvesby was granted free warren in his demesne lands of Ousby (*Cal. Charter Rolls*, 51 Hen. III., p. 76). He is described as "knight" in 1268 (*Cal. Doc. Scot.*, i., p. 492). Patrick de Ulvesby died in


Richard de Ulvesby, mentioned circ. 1216.
William, son of Richard, 1227, alias William de Ulvesby, dead 1233
Adam, son of Richard, 1227.
Henry de Ulvesby, mentioned circ. 1216.
Patrick de Ulvesby, 1227, dead 1233.
Adam Armstrong witness 1236-9, juror 1250.
a daughter.
Adam Armstrong b. circ. 1254, d. 1321.
William Armstrong, seised of a moiety mentioned 1288, d. 1294.
Johanna b. circ. 1264, m. Henry de Whitby.
Sir Patrick de Ulvesby, Kt. freewarren 1267, d. 1288.
Adam de Kempely sold his share 1323.
Walter de Kempeley mentioned 1288.
Petronilla mentioned 1304
Henry Falcard, mentioned 1288.
Sarah Falcard mentioned 1294.
Falcard
Juliana mentioned 1288
Alexander le Serjeant, had seisin 1293, d. 1310-11.
Henry le Serjeant d. 1292
Edith
Patrick Bouch b. 1278, of age 1300.
Adam Bouch
Emma mentioned 1304.
Adam de Ulvesby mentioned 1292, d. 1310.
Alan de Ulvesby.
Adam Armstrong b. 1286.
John le Serjeant, born circ 1288
John le Serjeant had seisin of ⅛th 1358.
Patrick Bouch mentioned 1318, killed 1327.
1) William Armstrong mentioned 1300, d.s.p.
Sibyl de Halton d. 1328.
(2) Adam de Carleton.
John de Carleton an infant 1334, had seisin of ⅛th 1341.

1288, seised of a messuage at Ousby, held of Walter de Kempeley, service 2d.; nine acres held of William Armstrong, service 2s.; forty acres held of Henry Long and his partners, service 3s., and multure of the 13th vessel (*vas*) at his mill; and two bovates, held of Henry, son of Juliana, service 1s. and multure as above; and there is a memorandum that Juliana de Falcard, who held a quarter of a moiety of Ousby in chief, sold to Patrick de Ulvesby the homage and service of a free tenant, named John, son of Gamil, who held of her by service of cornage, and John's heir was in the wardship of Patrick, when he died. Patrick de Ulvesby did not have a son, and his heiress was his daughter, Johanna, aged 24, who had long been married to Henry de Whitby (*Cal. inq. p. m.*, 16 Ed. I., p. 434). Henry de Whitby was tenant of land at Blencarn. Adam, son of Alan de Ulvesby and John, son of Adam le Waleys, were defendants in an action of novel disseisin, brought, in 1292, by William le Waleys, concerning a tenement in Ousby (*Cal. Doc. Scot.*, ii., p. 150).

In 1292, the escheator was ordered to take into the king's hand the land which Henry le Serjeant, of Ousby, deceased, held, by the courtesy of England, of the inheritance of Edith de Ulvesby, his wife, tenant in chief (*Cal. Fine Rolls*, vol. i., p. 316), and, in the following year, to deliver the same to Alexander, son and heir of Edith (p. 318).

In 1294, William Armstrong died seised of a moiety of the vill of Ousby held in chief, rendering 10s. 8d. for the cornage and 15s. of free farm. Adam his son, aged 40, was his heir (*Cal. inq. p. m.*, 23 Ed. I., p. 147). In the same year, Sarah Falcard received seisin of half an acre in Ousby, formerly held of Sarah by an outlaw, and of which Adam de Ulvesby had the king's year and a day (*Cal. Close Rolls*, 22 Ed. I., p. 361).

Roger, called "Peytevin," subdeacon, was collated by

the bishop, in 1295, rector of Ousby, provided that, according to the tenor of the dispensation from the apostolic see, concerning defect of birth, he should reside personally, and reserving to the Priory of Carlisle the yearly pension of 6s. 8d., due from the rectory (*Halton Register, edit.* Thompson, i., 44). Patrick, son and heir of Adam Bouch, proved his age in 1300. His land was in the wardship of Adam Armstrong of Ousby. He was born there, at Easter, 1278, and baptised, by William, parochial chaplain of the church of St. Patrick, of Ousby, in the baptistry of that church. Sir Patrick de Ulvesby, knight, and Thomas de Kempeley were his god-parents. Thomas de Kempeley, aged 60, and Alexander le Serjeant, aged 54, proved the facts (*Cal. inq. p. m.*, 28 Ed. I., p. 494).

Licence was granted, on December 3rd, 1300, for Adam, son of William Armstrong, of Ousby, to enfeoff William, son of Adam Armstrong and Sibyl, his wife, of 95 acres in Ousby; and further licence for Sarah Falcard, tenant in chief, to enfeoff the same persons of 16 acres and rent there (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 29 Ed. I., p. 559). In the previous year, the same William Armstrong and his wife, Sibyl de Halton, had executed a bond, to render to Sarah, called "Falcard," of Ousby, 3 skeps of oatmeal, 6 ells of russet (price 8s.), and a mark of silver, yearly, for land, in the vill of Ousby, which Sarah had granted them by charter. Bishop Halton and Adam Armstrong, of Ousby, were their sureties (*Halton Reg.*, i., 165).

In 1304, John, son of William de Meburn Maud, sought to replevy to Emma, widow of Adam Bouch, of Ousby, and Petronilla, her sister, their lands at Ousby, and Skirwith, taken into the king's hand, for their default before the justices of the bench (*Cal. Close Rolls*, 32 Ed. I., p. 194).

On the resignation of *dominus* Roger Peytevin, in 1304, Gilbert de Halton was instituted rector, and obtained

dispensation to study for seven years, the bishop reserving power to appoint a vicar (*Halton Reg.*, i., 218). Gilbert was collated to Kirkland, in 1306, and Master Adam de Appleby was instituted rector of Ousby, saving, to the Priory of Carlisle, the pension due and accustomed, then stated to be half a mark * (*ibid.*, i., 251).

Adam de Ulvesby complained, in 1309, that Patrick Bouch, of Ousby and others had driven away twelve of his oxen, worth £12 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 3 Ed., II., p. 246).

There was an order, on May 22nd, 1310, to take into the king's hand the land of Adam de Ulvesby, deceased, tenant in chief (*Cal. Fine Rolls*, vol. ii., p. 62).

Alexander le Serjeant, of Melmerby, died in February 1310-11, seised of a messuage at Ousby ; 12 acres of land ; one-eighth part of a water-mill and rent of assize ; all held in chief, and his heir was his son, John, aged 22 (*Cal. inq. p. m.*, 4 Ed. II., p. 169). Master John de Bowes, parson of Kirklinton, died in 1311, seised of a messuage and 43 acres of land, at Ousby, held of the " lords of the manor," and his heir was his kinsman, William de Bowes (*Cal. inq. p. m.*, 5 Ed. II., p. 183).

Master Adam de Appleby, the rector, was appointed Official of Carlisle in 1311 (*Halton Reg.*, ii., 37). In July, 1312, the vicar-general instituted Robert de Halton rector, on the resignation of Adam de Appleby, and the bishop confirmed the institution, three years later (*ibid.*, ii., 102). Master Thomas de Caldbeck, priest, was instituted rector in 1316, in place of Robert de Halton, who resigned (*ibid.*, ii., 125). In 1318, Thomas de Caldebeck was collated archdeacon of Carlisle and resigned the living (*ibid.*, ii., 169).

Master John Grayvill, *bacularius in theologia*, was thereupon collated and instituted, saving the annual pension of half a mark (*ibid.*, ii., 169). He was granted dispen-

* A mark weight of pure silver was 8 ounces. Its equivalent in money, at the rate of 20 pennies sterling to the ounce, was 13s. 4d. (*New Eng. Dict.*).

sation to study in England for three years, provided he was ordained subdeacon, in the first year, deacon in the second, and priest in the third, and provided his church was properly served (*ibid.*, ii., 172).

On October 26th, 1318, Patrick Bouch, of Ousby, held land in chief, and the king respited his homage (*Cal. Close Rolls*, 12 Ed. II., p. 23). Adam Armstrong of Ousby, died in 1321, seised of a messuage at Ousby; 50 acres in demesne; and 60 acres in the hands of tenants; held in chief, by service of 10s. 8d. rent and 15s. of blanch farm yearly, and his son, Adam, aged 35 and more, was his heir (*Cal. inq. p. m.*, 15 Ed. II., p. 174). John de Harcla died in 1322, seised of Thornheved in Ousby and rent there (*ibid.*, 16 Ed. II., p. 223). But he had made a feofment of his land to his brother, Andrew de Harcla, rebel, and so the inheritance, subject to his widow's dower, escheated to the crown (*Cal. Close Rolls*, 17 Ed. II., p. 18).

In 1323, John, son of Richard de Halton, was pardoned for having acquired, in fee, without licence, one-eighth of the manor, from Adam de Kempeley, tenant in chief (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 17 Ed. II., p. 325). An inhabitant of Ousby was pardoned, in 1327, for the death of Patrick Bouch (*ibid.*, 1 Ed. III., p. 43).

In 1328-9, John, son of Henry de Quale and Emma, his wife, had land in Ousby (*F.F. No.* 215).

Sibyl, widow of William Armstrong, married, secondly, Adam de Carleton, and died July 14th, 1328.* It was found by inquisition, in 1334, that Sibyl held, as tenant in chief, one-eighth of the vill of Ousby, namely a toft and 12 acres of land, in her demesne as of fee, and her heir was her son, John de Carleton, who was under age.

Sibyl also had an estate for life in a tenement including 95 acres of wasted land at Ousby, held in chief by William

* According to the inquisition of 1340.

Armstrong and herself, and the heir was Adam Armstrong, kinsman of William, aged 40 and more (*Cal. inq. p. m.*, 8 Ed. III., p. 401). On May 31st, 1335, it was ordered that the last-mentioned premises should be delivered to Adam Armstrong (*Cal. Fine Rolls*, vol. iv., p. 444).

A further inquisition, concerning the first-mentioned premises, was held in 1340 (*Cal. inq. p. m.*, 14 Ed. III., p. 182), and, in the following year, it was ordered that they should be delivered to John de Carleton (*Cal. Fine Rolls*, vol. v., p. 209). Sir Robert Parvyng died in 1343, having acquired one-eighth of a moiety (*sic*) of the vill of Ousby, three messuages and 100 acres held in chief, and his two sisters were heirs-at-law (*Cal. inq. p. m.*, 17 Ed. III., p. 302).

John Hunter of Salkeld, who died 1349-50, possessed land at Ousby (*Cal. esch.*, 23 Ed. III., p. 156). Clement de Crofton and Joan, his wife, were pardoned, in 1353, for acquiring in fee, from Adam Armstrong, a moiety of the manor of Ousby, held in chief, and entering therein without licence (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 27 Ed. III., p. 481).

In 1355, Clement and Joan obtained licence to grant to Roger de Salkeld and Joan (daughter of Thomas Beauchamp), and their heirs in tail, one-third part of a moiety of the manor, held in chief (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 29 Ed. III., p. 303).

William de Denton, rector of Ousby, was executor of the will of Dame Agnes, wife of Richard de Denton, proved in 1356 (*Test. Karl.*, p. 12).

One-eighth part of the vill, held in chief and recently belonging to John, son of Alexander le Serjeant, deceased, was delivered to his son, John, in 1358 (*Cal. Close Rolls*, 32 Ed. III., p. 475).

On the death of William de Denton, in 1359, Master John de Welton was collated to the living. He resigned in 1360, and was succeeded by Robert de Welton, who

resigned in 1361 (Nicolson and Burn). Richard de Ulvesby was then instituted as rector. His will, proved in March, 1361-2, directs his body to be buried in the cemetery of the Friars Preachers of Carlisle * (*Test. Karl.*, p. 40). Other rectors, namely, Thomas de Kirkland, Nicholas de Stapleton and William de Strickland, followed in rapid succession (Nicolson and Burn). The living of Ousby was "a garden planted eastward in Eden" but it was not a paradise.

To resume the history of the manor :—

In 1360, John de Raughton had lately acquired, in fee, without licence, from Thomas de Worship one-eighth of the manor of Ousby, held in chief, and granted it to the above-named Roger and Joan de Salkeld, for an estate of inheritance, and the grant was allowed (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 34 Ed. III., p. 476).

In 1361, the above-named Clement de Crofton and Joan his wife granted their remaining two-thirds of a moiety of the manor, held in chief, to John de Crofton (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 35 Ed. III., p. 95), and John de Crofton, in 1364, conveyed the same to William de Threlkeld,† knight, Katherine, his wife, William, their son, and the heirs of the last-named in tail male (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 38 Ed. III., p. 512). John de Halton died in 1370-1, seised of one-eighth of the manor, held in chief (*Cal. esch.*, 44 Ed. III., p. 304). That share had been purchased, in 1323, from Adam de Kempeley. On November 13th, 1375, John Waterward, chaplain, was presented to Ousby, in the king's gift, by reason of the late voidance of the bishopric of Carlisle (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 49 Ed. III., p. 196), and, on January 22nd, 1376, there was ratification of the estate of Simon de Wharton, parson of Ousby (*ibid.*, p. 216). William Kirkeby, chaplain, was presented to the living, on February 3rd, 1397 (*ibid.*, 20 Rich. II., p. 81).

* They were the Dominican, or Black, Friars (Dugdale, *Mon.* vi., p. 1485).

† The surname is pronounced "Threlkit" in common speech.

The successive links in the chain of title to a manor held *in capite* are as a rule exactly recorded, but, in the case of Ousby, several links are missing and can be supplied by conjecture only. When the story begins, the manor seems to be held in moieties by Richard and Henry, both surnamed "de Ulvesby." Richard was succeeded eventually by his son William, and Henry by Patrick, who was probably his son. But, in 1233, William and Patrick were both dead, and their land was in the king's hand. There is not any further mention of the first moiety until 1294, when William Armstrong died seised thereof. He was probably son of Adam Armstrong, witness in 1236-9, juror in 1250 (*Cal. Doc. Scot.*, i., p. 331) and possibly husband of William de Ulvesby's heiress-at-law. The second moiety seems to have been inherited by Sir Patrick de Ulvesby, knight, for he obtained a grant of free-warren in 1267. But the inquisition held upon his death in 1288 does not mention that moiety held *in capite*, and so it must be inferred that he had already settled the same upon the four female beneficiaries above mentioned and their heirs, to the exclusion of his own daughter Johanna, wife of Henry de Whitby.

There was a collateral Adam (son of Alan) de Ulvesby who does not appear to have been an original beneficiary under the supposed settlement, although he is described at the date of his death, 1310, as tenant in capite. His interest as such in the premises must have been a small one.

The church retains its *piscina* and three *sedilia*. The former is depicted in these *Transactions*, O.S. xii., plate viii. On the floor of the sanctuary lies the effigy, carved in oak, of a man wearing the chain armour and sleeveless surcoat of the thirteenth century. An illustration of that remarkable object is contained *ibid.*, O.S. xv., p. 450. It formerly reposed in a recess now plastered over, on

the south side of the nave (*ibid.*, o.s. viii., p. 65), and possibly represents Sir Patrick de Ulvesby, knight. The "church of St. Patrick, Ousby" is referred to in 1300. Ecton, *Thesaurus*, 1763, and Bacon, *Liber Regis*, 1786, call it "St. Patrick's, Ousby," so Nicolson and Burn are in error, when they ascribe its dedication to St. Luke.

ART. IV.—*The Eastern Fells.* Part V. By T. H. B. GRAHAM, M.A.

Communicated at Carlisle, April 7th, 1921.

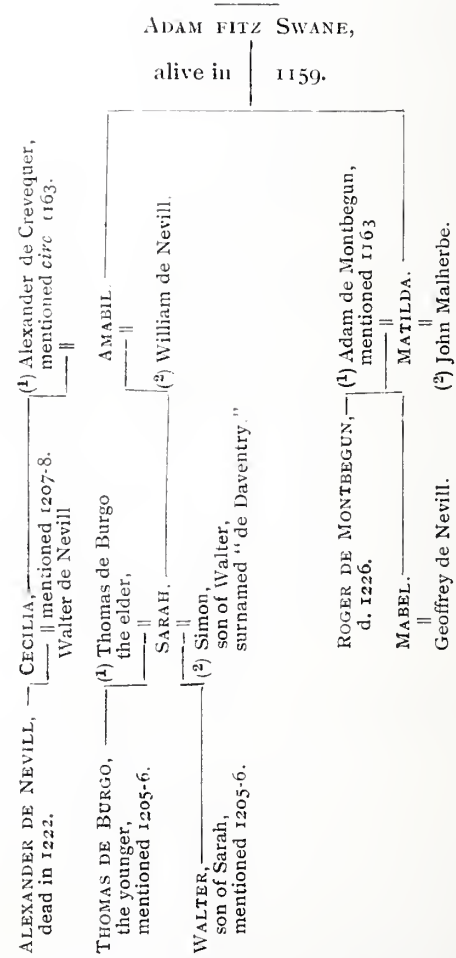
THE PARISH OF KIRKLAND.

THIS parish lies upon the side of Cross Fell, and is separated from Westmorland by the Crowdundle beck. It formerly comprised the four vills of Culgaith, Skirwith, Blencarn and Kirkland, each of which formed a separate manor. The history of those manors, from the 12th to the 14th century, is the subject of this paper.

CULGAITH.

Adam *Fitz* Swane was chief lord of Culgaith. His father, Swane, son of Alric, does not appear to have been connected with Cumberland, but the Pipe Roll of that county states that, in 1130, Herueius de Vecey owed £10 for the wife of Swane, son of Alric, and her dower. She had then recently died (*Pipe Roll, York and Northumb., edit.* Hunter, p. 25). Swane was a benefactor of Pontefract Priory, Yorkshire, and the catalogue of his descendants, preserved in the records of that house, runs as follows :—Of Adam, his son, came Amabil and Matilda. Of Amabil came Sarah. Of Sarah came Thomas de Burgo, and of him another Thomas de Burgo, who died without heir, and John. Of John came Thomas de Burgo, who now is. And of Matilda came Roger de Montbegun and Mabel (Dugdale, *Mon.*, v., p.128).

PEDIGREE.



Henry I. gave to Adam *Fitz* Swane land in Cumberland, to be held by rendering annually 112s. 8d. for cornage (*Testa de Nevill*), and Adam *Fitz* Swane gave to Pontefract Priory the chapel of Andrew the Apostle, at (*juxta*) Culcait in Cumberland, and all that pertained to it (Dugdale, *Mon.*, v., 122). The chapel was therefore not included in the conveyance, next mentioned, of the

adjoining land to the abbey of St. Mary, York. During the period 1138-47, there occur two important charters. By the first, Adam *Fitz* Swane gives to the Abbey of St. Mary, York, and its monks at Wetheral, the hermitage called "Kirkandreas," with adjacent land and wood, as far as the place called "Pede"; free common in the territory of Culgaith, within and without the vill; and "my mill of Culgaith," with its whole *sequela*, in perpetual alms. It is witnessed by Suan, the priest, and Henry, "my brother" (Prescott, *Wetherhal*, p. 311). Bishop Athelwold, in the presence of the donor and "Warin of Kirkland," directs that the "hermitage of St. Andrew" shall be free from all subjection to the church of Kirkland (*ibid.*, p. 44).

David, King of Scots, when at Carlisle, confirms the said gift by the second charter, addressed to his men of Cumberland, and witnessed by John, Bishop of Glasgow, who died in 1147 (*ibid.*, p. 312).

The Yorkshire Pipe Roll, 1158, states that Adam *Fitz* Swane owed 20 marks of silver for land in Cumberland, and, in the Northumberland Pipe Roll of the same year, William de Vesci refers to the sum of £10 for Tindale, of which Adam *Fitz* Swane ought to render an account (*edit.* Hunter, pp. 146 and 177). The Cumberland Pipe Roll, 1159, mentions a gift, by the king's writ, of 100s. to Adam *Fitz* Swane.

He died soon afterwards, and his land fell, as a matter of course, into the king's hand. The sheriff rendered account, in 1163, of one mark, for the assarts of Chircheland (Kirkland), and William de Nevill was pardoned, in 1165, the sum of 106s. 8d. which amounts very nearly to the cornage service of Adam *Fitz* Swane's seigniory (*Pipe Rolls, Cumb.*). William had probably been *interim* custodian, or farmer, of Adam's land, while it remained in the king's hand.

Amabil, elder co-heiress of Adam *Fitz* Swane, married,

first, Alexander de Crevequer, (see Pedigree on p. 56) who, by charter of about 1163, confirms, to Wetheral Priory, Kirkandreas, with its wood, as far as the place called "Peyekyttoc"; and "my mill of Culgaith, namely that half which belongs to me." The witnesses are Adam de Montbegun and Warin, whose names occur in the Pipe Roll of 1163 (*Wetherhal*, p. 308). Amabil had, by her first marriage, a daughter, Cecilia, living in 1207-8, who married Walter de Nevill and had a son, Alexander de Nevill (*Pipe Rolls, Yorks.*, cited *Yorks. Arch. Assoc., Record Series*, Vol. xii., p. 277). Amabil married, secondly, William de Nevill and had the daughter named Sarah, who married Thomas de Burgo, the elder, with the manor of Skirwith as a marriage portion (see p. 59). Adam *Fitz* Swane was founder of Monk Bretton Priory,* Yorkshire, and it is significant that Thomas de Burgo and Sarah, his wife, confirmed the donations made to it by Adam *Fitz* Swane, William de Nevill and Amabilis, his wife, respectively (Dugdale, *Mon.* v., 137).

Matilda, younger co-heiress of Adam *Fitz* Swane, married, first, Adam de Montbegun, who pays a mark for pleas in 1163 (*Pipe Roll*), and by charter of about that date confirms, "with the assent of my wife," to Wetheral Priory, Kirkandreas and the mill of Culgaith, namely "that half which belongs to me" (*Wetherhal*, p. 368). Adam de Montbegun also confirms, "with the assent of Matilda, my wife," to Monk Bretton Priory, any gift of Adam *Fitz* Swane, "which belongs to my portion of the hereditary right of the younger daughter, whom I have married" (Dugdale, *Mon.* v., 138). Matilda had a son and heir, Roger de Montbegun, and married, secondly, John Malherbe, who, "with the assent of my wife, Matilda," confirms, to the Abbey of St. Mary, York, the "place (*locum*) of St. Andrew," and half the mill of

* Monk Bretton Priory was a "cell" of Pontefract Priory already mentioned.

Culgaith (*Wetherhal*, p. 311); and, with the like assent, confirms, to Monk Bretton Priory, whatever Adam *Fitz* Swane has given of that "which belongs to the portion of the younger daughter, whom I have married" (Dugdale, *Mon.* v., 138).

To go a generation lower—Amabil's daughter, Sarah, had, by her first marriage with Thomas de Burgo, the elder, a son, named Thomas de Burgo, the younger, and, by her second marriage, with Simon,* son of Walter, had a son, named Walter, son of Sarah. In 1205-6, Simon, son of Walter, and Sarah, his wife, released Sarah's claim to dower of some land in Norfolk, which had descended to her son Thomas de Burgo, the younger, and, in consideration of that release, Thomas gave to his half-brother, Walter, son of Sarah, all the vill of Skirwith, with the consent of Sarah, whose *maritagium* it was (*F.F.*† *No.* 27).

About that period, part of the land had, by some means, perhaps by gift on marriage, become vested in Alexander de Nevill, presently mentioned.

Matilda's son and heir, Roger de Montbegun, succeeded to his mother's moiety. Account is rendered, in 1194, of 8s. of the service of Michael de Kirkland, for a sor-hawk, which he was accustomed to render to Roger de Montbegun; and, in 1203, of 20s. paid by Roger de Montbegun, for a mediety of Culchet (*Pipe Roll*). Roger died in 1226 (*Rot. Fin.*, *edit.* Roberts, i. 140).

The thread of the story will not be lost, if it is borne in mind that all land given in marriage, mortmain, or otherwise, was held of the estate of the grantor and his heirs. Consequently, the domain of Adam *Fitz* Swane was intact, and inherited, as to one moiety, by Thomas de Burgo, the younger, as to the other moiety, by Roger de

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* Surnamed "de Daventry" (see pedigree in Baker, *Northants.*, i., 306).

† Cal. Feet of Fines, these *Transactions*, N.S., vii, p. 215.

Montbegun. (*Cf.* the short pedigree of 1223-4, set out in *Coll. Top. et Gen.*, i., 267).

The above-mentioned facts elucidate the obscure statement of the sheriff's return, 1212, that *William de Nevill's* land in Cumberland was then held by (1) Roger de Montbegun, (2) Simon, son of Walter, and (3) Alexander de Nevill, for the cornage rent of 112s. 8d., originally due for the same from Adam *Fitz* Swane. That land was found, by inquisition, made at the same date, to consist of four vills—two held in demesne and two by homage (*Testa de Nevill*).

In 1222, Geoffrey de Nevill and another gave £100, for the wardship of the heir of Alexander de Nevill, whose lands lay in Cumberland and elsewhere (*Rot. Fin., edit.* Roberts, i., p. 86) ; and it should be noted that Geoffrey married Adam *Fitz* Swane's grand-daughter, Mabel (mentioned in the above catalogue), for Geoffrey de Nevill and Mabel, his wife, confirmed Adam *Fitz* Swane's gift to Monk Bretton Priory (Dugdale *Mon.* v., 138).

John de Nevill, eldest son and heir of Alexander de Nevill, died, an infant, in 1230, and was succeeded by his younger brother, Alexander (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 14 Hen. III., p. 405). Their mother's name was Margaret (*Cal. Close Rolls, of the same year*, p. 442).

In 1231-2, a certain William,son of John, levied a fine *versus* Geoffrey de Nevill and Mabel, his wife, respecting a moiety of the manor of Culgaith (*F.F. No.* 41).

Bishop Robert Chause, by letters dated 1274, threatened with excommunication all evil-disposed persons, who tampered with Culgaith mill (*Wetherhal*, p. 316).

Very shortly before 1290, Simon, abbot of St. Mary, York, granted to *dominus* Michael de Harcla, knight, " our place " called Kirkandres, with adjacent wood and land and an appendage, called " Prestbank," in the territory of Newbiggin, to hold to Michael and Johanna, his wife, and the heirs of Michael, rendering yearly, to

the prior of "our cell of Wetheral," 40s. of silver, and saving to the monks the great and small tithes of the place (*Wetherhal*, p. 369).

Andrew de Harcla, Earl of Carlisle, Michael's heir, further acquired, in 1321-2, from a mesne tenant named Robert de Askeby, one quarter of the manor of Culgaith (*F.F. No.* 198). By charter of that date, Robert de Askeby, knight, confirms to *dominus* Andrew de Harcla "all my lands in the vill of Culgaith, the vill of Ainstable and Ruckcroft, which I have of the gift of my uncle, Gilbert de Askeby, to hold in fee simple of the chief lords of the fee by the accustomed services" (Duckett, *Duchetiana*, p. 279).

Hugh de Moresby obtained, by royal grant dated June 28th, 1323, three-quarters of the manor of Culgaith, "late of Andrew de Harcla, rebel," to hold to him and his heirs in chief, by service of half a knight's fee, and £10 to the Exchequer; and the remaining quarter of the manor, after the death of Robert de Askeby, knight, who then held the same for life (*sic*), which quarter should properly have reverted to the king as an escheat, by reason of Andrew's forfeiture, saving advowsons of churches pertaining to the said manor (*Cal. Fine Rolls*, Vol. iii., p. 216).

Anthony de Lucy, keeper of Andrew de Harcla's forfeited land, was ordered, in 1324, to deliver the place called Kirkandres to the Abbot of St. Mary, York, during pleasure, for it appeared that Michael, father of Andrew, built himself a mansion there, because it was near his vill of Culgaith and convenient for habitation and chase, but the premises were insufficient to yield the rent of 40s., due for the same (*Cal. Close Rolls*, 17 Ed. II., p. 66).

The abbot complained, in 1328, that Hugh de Moresby and others had broken his mill of Culgaith and his close at Kirkandres, felled and carried away trees, fed off the grass with cattle, turned up the ground with swine, and

assaulted his servant, William de Garth (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 2 Ed. III., p. 289).

In 1335, Margaret, widow of the said Robert de Askeby, disputed Hugh de Moresby's title, under the king's charter, to a quarter of the manor, alleging that it belonged to her husband and herself jointly, by purchase from Gilbert de Askeby, and it was found by inquisition that the quarter in question was held, not of the king in chief, but of John Nevill, of Hornby* (*Cal. Close Rolls*, 9 Ed. III., p. 406). There was a grant, in 1337, to Hugh de Moresby and his heirs, of free warren in his demesne lands of Culgaith (*Cal. Charter Rolls*, 11 Ed. III., p. 389). He was sheriff in 1341-4 and died in 1348 leaving Christopher, his son and heir of full age (Wilson, *St. Bees*, p. 220).

Margaret, widow of Hugh de Moresby, tenant-in-chief, married Matthew de Redman, and, on May 12th, 1359, they held one-third of the manor as her dower (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 33 Ed. III., p. 210). The place in Kirkandres was further confirmed by the king, in 1369, to the Abbot of St. Mary, York (*Cal. Close Rolls*, 43 Ed. III., p.4).

It was proved, in 1380, that when Margaret, widow of Hugh de Moresby, died, she held in chief (*sic*) one quarter of the vill of Culgaith, containing eight husband lands, in her demesne as of fee ; and she also held, as dower, one-third part of the other three-quarters of the manor, of the inheritance of her son, Christopher de Moresby, by service of rendering 4s. 1d. to cornage. Her grandson, Christopher (son of Christopher), who had lately proved his age, was her heir, and it was ordered that he should have seisin of the premises (*Cal. Close Rolls*, 3 Rich. II., p. 286).

One document of later date deserves notice, because it relates back to the period under review. The bull of Pope Calixtus III., dated May 5th, 1456, directs the

* Hornby, in Lancashire, seems to have been parcel of Adam *Fitz* Swane's seigniory (See Baines, *Lancaster*, iv., 596).

bishop to enquire into the complaint of an inhabitant, Christopher de Moresby, patron of the chapel of All Saints, founded by the predecessors of the said inhabitant, that the "modern" rector of the parish of Kirkland was bound to celebrate Mass there on weekdays and to cause water and bread to be blessed there on Sunday, but refused to do so. The original document remained in the custody of the inhabitants, and Bishop Nicolson obtained a copy (Nicolson and Burn, II., 446). It is not clear that this chapel of All Saints occupied the site of the ancient chapel of St. Andrew, Culgaith, already mentioned.

Skirwith.

It has been shown that Simon, son of Walter, and Sarah, his wife, held Skirwith of Thomas de Burgo's moiety of the chief seigniory and gave that vill to their son Walter, son of Sarah.

The manor appears to have fallen into the king's hand in 1215,* when the sheriff was ordered to give seisin of "the land of Skirwith to Jordan Spigurnell,to whom the king had given it (*Cal. Close Rolls*, 17 John, p. 243). In 1272, Robert, son of Walter, was granted free warren in his demesne lands of Skirwith and Daventry, Northants. (*Cal. Charter Rolls*, 56 Hen. III., p. 183).

In 1288, an under-tenant, Patrick de Ulvesby, died seised of ten acres at Skirwith, held of the said Robert, son of Walter, knight, by service of a piece (*racini*) of ginger; ten acres at the same place, held of the prior of Carlisle; and a little park, at Ousby, held, without service, of another under-tenant, Eudo de Skirwith (*Cal. inq. p. m.*, 16 Ed. I., p. 434). Patrick and Eudo were both jurors at a great inquisition concerning the forest, held twenty years previously (*Cal. Doc. Scot.*, i., p. 492). In 1292, Walter, son of Robert de Daventre, claimed free

* Roger de Montbegun was one of the confederated barons in that year (Matthew Paris, *Chron. Maj., Rolls edition*, ii., 585).

warren in Skirwith, by royal charter given to his father, Robert, son of Walter (*Placita de quo waranto*, p. 115); and, at the same date, the prior of St. Mary, Carlisle, made a claim on behalf of his tenants at Staling in Skirewych (*ibid.*, p. 121).

Walter, son of Robert, "tenant-in-chief (*sic*) of Edward II.," alienated the manor of Skirwith to his own son, Robert, in fee, and Robert alienated it to John de Lancaster in fee (*Cal. Close Rolls*, 7 Ed. III., p. 6).

On January 27th, 1333, the escheator had taken Skirwith into the king's hand, because the above alienations were made without licence, but enquiry showed that John de Lancaster held the manor of Thomas de Burgo, knight, and not in chief (*ibid.*).

The writ for Thomas de Burgo's inquisition is dated April 2nd, 1334. He died seised of the manor of Skirwith, held of the king in chief, as of the crown, by homage and service of 32s. for cornage. His under-tenant, John de Lancaster of Howgill, held the vill of Thomas and his heirs by the like homage and service, and so, it is stated, Thomas was king's tenant-in-chief in service and not in demesne, and his heir was his son, Thomas, aged 3½ years (*Cal. inq. p. m.*, 8 Ed. III., p. 411).

The prior of Carlisle obtained licence, in 1346, to acquire in mortmain the reversion of a messuage and six acres at Skirwith, subject to the estate for life of Roger Damysel (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 20 Ed. III., p.164).

The descent of the mesne manor of Skirwith from John de Lancaster, of Howgill, who was living in 1346, and its subsequent history are contained in these *Transactions*, N.S. X., p. 425. It was held, in 1370, of the heirs of Robert de Burgo (*ibid.*, p. 485).

The local place-name "Skirwith Abbey" is modern. There was never any such monastery. But the existing mansion possibly occupies the site of a grange, belonging to one of the religious bodies interested in the ancient

parish of Kirkland. The popular confusion of the terms "priory" and "abbey" is notorious.

BLENCARN.

Blencarn was probably one of the four Cumberland vills comprised in the seigniory of Adam *Fitz* Swane, but there is no express evidence to that effect. Its history, however, is interwoven with that of Ainstable, which was, almost certainly, parcel of the said seigniory, and perhaps dependent on Blencarn. The Thursbys were mesne lords of the manor of Blencarn. Alan, son of Waldeve, one of the founders of Holmcultram in 1150, gave Thursby to their ancestor, Herbert (*Chronicon Cumbriae*). Robert de Thursby was witness to a deed of about 1163, relating to Culgaith (*Wetherhal*, p. 308), and paid rent for Waverton in 1182 (*Pipe Roll*).

William de Thursby was in possession of Blencarn and deforciant in a claim for dower, made in 1211-12, by Juliana, widow of Adam de Ireby, regarding land at Blencarn and Ainstable (*F.F. No.* 26). At the same period Alice de Eincurt held a moiety of the vill of Blencarn, which the said Juliana de Ireby claimed against William de Thursby and others (*Abbrev. Placit.*, p. 78).

In 1226-7, Bernard de Thursby levied a fine *versus* Ivo de Vipont and Sibyl, his wife, respecting land at Blencarn and Ainstable (*F.F. No.* 32). William de Ireby (custodian of the lands of William and Patrick de Ulvesby) was party to proceedings, in 1234, concerning two carucates at Blencarn (*Cal. Close Rolls*, 18 Hen. III., p. 434).

John Denton states (*Accompt*, edit. Ferguson, p. 57), that the heiress of de Thursby married Guido de Boyvill, and had a son, William. *Dominus* Guido de Boyvill testified a deed about 1255 (Wilson, *St. Bees*, p. 295), and had land in the common field of Ainstable (*Wetherhal*, p. 275). John Denton had seen Guido's coat of arms, impressed upon seals and painted upon a window, on the south side of the choir of Carlisle Cathedral—*argent*, a

fret *vert*, with a canton in the right-hand corner of the field (*Accompt*, p. 151).

The said William de Boyvill made a conveyance of land, in 1278, to Robert, prior of Carlisle (*F.F. No.* 121). It comprised eight bovates (Dugdale, *Mon.*, vi., p. 143). At the pleas of the forest in 1285, William de Boyvill was forester in fee, that is to say, hereditary forester, of Allerdale (these *Transactions*, N.S. vii., p. 3), and John Denton supposes that the office had descended to him from the above-named Herbert of Thursby (*Accompt*, p. 151). This William de Boyvill, knight, sheriff in 1282 and knight of the shire in 1297, must not be confused with another Sir William de Boyvill, knight, keeper of the Castle of Dumfries, who was dead on March 1st, 1292 (*Cal. Doc. Scot.*, ii., p. 138).

Patrick de Ulvesby, of Ousby, who died in 1288, was seised, for life only, of a moiety of Blencarn with two parts of the mill and twenty-four acres in demesne, all held by service of one penny of Henry de Whitby, his daughter's husband (*Cal. inq. p. m.*, 16 Ed. I., p. 434). In 1290, Henry de Whitby and Johanna, his wife, brought an action against the miners of Alston for having unduly cut trees at that place, in order to smelt the ore (Coke, *Institutes, second part*, vol. ii., p. 578). Henry de Whitby owed a debt to Adam de Skirwith, in 1296 (*Cal. Close Rolls*, 24 Ed. I., p. 515). John de Seton died in 1299, seised of six bovates of land in the vill of Blencarn, held of Sir William de Boyvill, by service of sixpence. John's undertenants were three customary holders of two bovates, rendering five shillings in respect of each tenement (*Cal. Doc. Scot.*, ii., p. 277). His son and heir, Christopher, forfeited the land for rebellion.

William de Boyvill was dead on June 12th, 1305, when his lands were taken into the king's hand (*Cal. Fine Rolls*, 33 Ed. I., p. 522). He held the forestership of Allerdale in fee and the mesne lordships of Thursby and

Ainstable, but Blencarn is not specified. The heir was his son, John, aged 22 (*Cal. inq. p. m.*, of the same year, p. 183).

Master John de Bowes died in 1311 seised of a moiety of Blencarn, held of Walter de Stirkland, and his "kinsman," William de Bowes, was his heir (*Cal. inq. p. m.*, 5 Ed. II., p. 183).

John de Boyvill died in 1319, and his heir was his brother, Edmund (*ibid.*, 13 Ed. II., p. 131). In 1322, Edmund de Boyvill conveyed one-sixth of the manor to John de Harcla (*F.F. No.* 195).

John de Harcla died seised of land at Blencarn, in 1322, and the jury knew no reason why his widow, Ermeiarda, should not have her dower (*Cal. inq. p. m.*, 16 Ed. II., p. 223). It appears that John had enfeoffed Andrew de Harcla, the rebel, of his lands, and so they escheated to the crown, subject to Ermeiarda's estate for life in dower (*Cal. Close Rolls*, 17 Ed. II., p. 18). His infant son, Andrew, was excluded.

In 1340, there was a grant in fee simple to William Lengleys, king's yeoman, of the manor and vill of Blencarn, which escheated to Edward II. by forfeiture of Andrew de Harcla, subject to the estate for life, by the king's grant, of William de Greystoke, who was ordered to attorn tenant to William Lengleys (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 14 Ed. III., p. 478); and licence was given, in 1342, for the said William Lengleys, king's yeoman, to settle two parts of the manor of Blencarn on himself for life, with successive remainders in tail male to his son, William Lengleys, knight, and his daughter Juliana (*ibid.*, 16 Ed. III., p. 505). The history of Blencarn is continued in these *Transactions*, N.S. xii.,. p. 20.

Kirkland.

Kirkland was the site of the parish church. The advowson was not appendant to the manor, but, like that of Ousby, had belonged to the bishop from time im-

memorial. Both churches were subject to payment of a pension, in favour of the Prior and Convent of Carlisle, and it is possible that both were included in the original scheme for endowing the see of Carlisle. The pipe rolls record that, in 1163, Warin, priest of Kirkland, paid seven marks for pleas; in 1163, the sheriff rendered account of a mark for the assarts of Kirkland; in 1187, of 13s. 4d. from Michael de Kirkland; in 1194, of 8s., service of Michael de Kirkland, for a sor-hawk, which he was accustomed to render to Roger de Montbegun; and in 1196, of a quarter's rent of the same man's land. John de Ireby was charged with having, on October 9th, 1269, slipped his greyhounds at a hart in the fields of Kirkland, which are stated to have been situate outside the forest (these *Transactions*, N.S. vii., p. 10). John de Ireby, belted knight (*gladio cinctus*), was a juror at the forest inquisition of August 18th, 1268 (*Cal. Doc. Scot.*, i., p. 492).

Ranulf de Dacre held some land at Kirkland, in 1286, of Robert, son of Walter, knight, whose name has been mentioned in connection with Skirwith (*Cal. inq. p. m.*, 14 Ed. I., p. 357). The prior of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem claimed, in 1292, that his men of Kirkland, Ousby and other places in Cumberland, were quit of amercements, and produced the inspeximus of the king's charter of 1253 (*Placita de quo waranto*, 20 Ed. I., p. 117). In 1295, Master Adam de Newcastle, priest, was collated and instituted, by the bishop, rector of the church of Kirkland, reserving to the Priory of Carlisle the annual pension of 20s. silver, due from the same (*Halton Register*, edit. Thompson, i., 35). *Dominus* Gilbert de Haloghton,* subdeacon, was similarly collated and instituted, in May, 1306, reserving to the Prior and Convent of "our cathedral church" the annual pension

* Halton is the conventional spelling. There are localities so named near Lancaster and Hexham.

due and accustomed (*ibid.*, i., 251). In the autumn of 1308, *dominus* John Franceys, described as "rector of Kirkland," was ordained deacon, and the late rector, Gilbert de Haloghton, was collated archdeacon of Carlisle, by the bishop, then abroad in Austria (*ibid.*, i. 305 and ii., 41).

The bishop, in 1311, directed his vicar-general to collate "our nephew," Thomas de Haloghton, clerk, rector of Kirkland, if that church became vacant during his absence abroad (*ibid.*, ii., 38); and, in 1319, Master Thomas de Haloghton, described as "rector of Kirkland," was ordained priest (*ibid.*, 191).

William de Denton, the rector, with consent of the patron and ordinary, charged the living, in 1336, with the payment of 20 marks a year to John de Skelton for life (Nicolson and Burn). There was a commission, on June 12th, 1338, to Ranulf de Dacre and John de Lancaster of Howgill, to enquire concerning the persons who had then lately broken the parish church of Kirkland, and carried away the books, chalices, vestments, ornaments of the church and goods of William de Denton, the parson (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 12 Ed. III., p. 79); and in May of the same year, there was ratification of the estate of John de Skelton, "king's clerk," as parson, notwithstanding any right of the king therein, by reason of the voidance of the see of Carlisle (*ibid.*, p. 63).

John, son of Roger, formerly of Lancaster, by his will, proved in 1354, bequeathed 2lbs. of wax to the church of St. Laurence of Kirkland (*Test. Karl.*, p. 4). The estate of John de Langholm, parson of Kirkland, was ratified, on June 23rd, 1373 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 47 Ed. III., p. 300). In the previous year, the collector of the apostolic chamber had demanded of him provision, for a certain John de Kirkby, out of the profits of the rectory, and he refused to pay it, because he was not a party to the transaction. He died in 1379 (Nicolson and Burn). John de Penrith

was ratified parson, on February 13th, 1380 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 3 Rich. II., p. 440), and the bishop gave him leave of absence, in or out of England, for seven years (Nicolson and Burn). It is necessary to pursue the history of the rectory somewhat beyond the period assigned to this paper, in order to ascertain its *status*. There were ratifications as regards the respective estates of other parsons, namely, John de Carlisle in 1400 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 2 Hen. IV., p. 363), Robert de Stirkland, in 1409 (*ibid.*, 11 Hen. IV., p. 118), and Thomas Fether, in 1435 (*ibid.*, 14 Hen. VI., p. 496); and, on June 13th, 1438, the king gave licence to the bishop to grant the advowson of Kirkland, assessed at £8 a year, and held by him of the crown, in right of his bishopric, to the Prior and Convent of Carlisle, and for them to appropriate the same, notwithstanding that the king was not informed whether the advowson was parcel of the foundation of the bishopric, or by what service it was held of the king (*ibid.*, 16 Hen. VI., p. 185).

A comparison of the records relating to what John Denton terms "the great tract of land on the east side of the river Eden" goes to prove that the only Cumberland manors originally comprised in Adam *Fitz* Swane's extensive seigniory lay within the parishes of Kirkland and Ainstable.

The original church of St. Laurence, Kirkland, was much larger than the succeeding one built in 1768 (Jefferson, *Leath Ward*, p. 446). The latter was rebuilt in 1880. The *piscina*, of which a drawing appears in these *Transactions*, O.S. xii., plate viii., is still in existence. On the pavement of the chancel lies an effigy of white chalkstone, representing a man wearing a very long surcoat and sword and holding a heart (*sursum corda*) in his hands. It has been assigned to the latter half of the thirteenth century. An illustration of the effigy is contained in these *Transactions*, O.S. xv., p. 445. When Jefferson wrote, in 1840, it was set upright and built into

the wall, on the north side of the door at the west end of the nave (see small picture, *Leath Ward*, p. 446). It lay for long outside the church, and has suffered in consequence (*ibid.*, O.S. viii., p. 65). In the churchyard stands an ancient cemetery cross on steps.

Behind the escarpment of the Eastern Fells, or "Black Fells," as they used to be called, lies a wilderness of mountain pasture, belonging to the Cumberland manor of Alston Moor. An old perambulation of the boundary separating that mountain pasture from the manors situate on the escarpment completes the subject of the present series of papers. Most of the localities mentioned are marked on the Ordnance Survey, or on Fryer's map. The perambulation skirts the common pasture belonging to manors comprised in the ancient parish of Kirkland :—

From the head of Tees to the summit of Cross Fell ; from thence, as heaven water deals, to the north end of Cross Fell ; from thence, as water divides, to Greyhound stone ; from thence, in a direct line to Cashburn head, or well.

The adjacent boundary pertaining to Hexham Priory was drawn *ab ingressu del Crokitburn in Tese, ascendendo usque in summitatem de Fendes Fell* (Surtees Society's Publications, No. 46, p. 20). Cross Fell is there indicated. The Ordnance Survey assigns the appellation "Fiend's Fell" to one of the lower tops of the mountain range. Cross Fell may derive its modern name from a cross erected on its summit, to mark the limit of the common pasture belonging to the manor of Alston Moor. Several boundary crosses are noticed elsewhere in the perambulation, which next follows the confines of Ousby Fell :—

Down Cashburn to the foot of Dirtpot burn, where Cashburn alters to the name of Shield water ; down Shield water to the foot of Swarthbeck burn, where there stands a fold called Swarthbeck fold ; down Shield water, again, to Snittergill burn, where the name alters to Greencastle water.

The perambulation next follows the outskirts of Melmerby and Gamblesby Fells :—

From thence to Rowgill burn foot ; up Rowgill burn to Mereburn foot ; up Mereburn to Dick Lee's cabin ; up the said burn to the place where it divides ; from thence, up the westernmost burn called Mereburn, to the half dyke ; from thence to Parkin stones, on the south of and near unto Parkin stones fold ; from thence to Benty hill currock ; from thence, as water divides, to Rowgill head ; from thence to the height of Hartside.

Lastly, the perambulation follows the bounds of Haresceugh and Croglin Fells :—

From thence to Colecleugh head ; from thence to Little Daffinside currock, Great Daffinside currock, Black fell currock and Thief syke head ; from thence, as water divides, to the head of Candlesieve (*i.e.* candle-rush) syke ; from thence, in a direct line, to Woogill tarn ; from thence, as water divides, to Tom Smith's Stone (Nicolson and Burn, ii., 438).

ART. V.—*Some notes on the Eskdale Twentyfour Book.* By MISS MARY C. FAIR.

Read at Carlisle, April 7th, 1921.

I OWE much of the information from which this paper is prepared to a collection of notes kindly handed to me by the Rev. W. S. Sykes, one of our members and a former vicar of Eskdale, to whom I express gratitude for the ready assistance and interest he extends to me in my endeavours to carry on the work of elucidating the history of the dale.

The Eskdale Twentyfour Book is the name given to an award of the Jury of 24 Commoners of the Manor of Eskdale, Wasdalehead and Mitredale. The tenements at the South side of the river Esk are in Birker and Austhwaite, and do not therefore come under the jurisdiction of this Court of Commoners.

Two copies of the award at least are in existence in Eskdale ; one (1) in the possession of Mr. Towers Hartley, and (2) a more recent copy in the chapel-wardens' account book dated June, 1840. There is also a note that the award [No. 1 (?)], was "copied from the original by Thomas Tyson of Borradail Place Junr., in December, 1794."

No. 1 is written in a MS. book bound with brown paper ; it contained twenty-four pages averaging fourteen lines per page ; it is written in a very scholarly hand in good black ink.

The Award is entitled " A COPY RESPECTING THE COMON, ETC., BELONGING TO THE LSPP OF ESKDAILE, MITERDAILE AND WASDAILEHEAD "; it was apparently the award of a Jury of Court held in the

year 1659, draughted from the MS. of a previous award made in 1587, for the prologue states that a Jury was called upon on " 7th October, '59, to consider the end and order of a former Jury, and to allow so much thereof as appears to be for the several disprofit of the tenants of the Sd. Manor, and to make new ordinances and byelaws for the better order and profit making of all the Common belonging to the said Manor."

This date, " 7th October, '59 " appears to be about the year 1659, for in the middle of the book is a signature, " ROBERT FISHER XTH DAY OF OCT. 1660 " in a position apparently of a copyist of such decrees as have preceded.

The contents of the Award are :

1. Five penalties.
2. Jurymen of 1659.
3. Revised decisions with names of former Jury (that of 1587).
4. Sheepdrifts of Eskdaile.
5. Various controversies.
6. Cowdrifts of Eskdaile Tenants.
7. Holgill Ridding.
8. Date of original Jury (1587).

From the body of the award (much of which appears to be copied from that of 1587), we are able to identify the tenements of the Jurors who compiled the first award. In this list there are ten Jurymen out of sixteen belonging to Eskdale (three are omitted, illegible), whose names are given in the award as holders of tenements, so that it is evident that in the revision the old names are retained.

THE FIRST JURY (1587) AND THEIR TENEMENTS.

1. Nicholas Nicholson, Mitredailehead (?) (Now in ruins).
2. Henry Nicholson, Bakerstead. (Now in ruins).
3. William Nicholson, Low Place.
4. Nicholas Hartley, Langragreen. (Pulled down).

5. Henry Nicholson, Hollinhow. (Spelled "Holme How" in one place in the award.)
6. Thomas Fisher, Hollinghead.
7. Robert Jackson, Spouthouse.
8. Edward Tyson, Gillbank.
9. Thomas Dickinson, Harmot Hows. (Arment House, ? Hermit How).
10. Richard Tyson, Hollings.
11. Christopher Vicars, Bird How. (Now in ruins).
12. William Nicholson, Forester.
13. Nicholas Nicholson, Forester.
14. William Nicholson.
15. Nicholas Dickonson.
16. John Wastel (Wasdailehead).
17. Nicholas Wastel(Wasdalehead), Forester.
18. William Wastel (Wasdalehead).
19. John Fletcher senior (Wasdalehead).
20. John Fletcher junior (Wasdalehead).
21. Nicholas Stainton (Wasdalehead).

Two illegible and no clue to trace them.

After the Jury list of 1659 comes the entry "James Peirson, 7th Oct. '59." The names of the Jury are:—

1. William Sharpe.
2. Thomas Pearson.
3. Nicholas Hartley (of Bought 1665).
4. John Vicars.
5. William Moore (Hollinghead).
6. John Wilkinson (Mitredale?).
7. John Tyson (Borrodale Place).
8. Thomas Tyson.
9. Robert Fletcher (Wasdale).
10. Robert Hunter (Wasdalehead).
11. Thomas Wilson (Wasdalehead?).
12. John Braithwaite (Wasdalehead).
13. Robert Vicars (Wasdalehead).
14. Nicholas Tyson.

15. John Wastdale (Wasdalehead).
16. John Stainton (Wasdalehead).
17. John Vicars (of Taythes, *i.e.*, Taw House).
18. John Hartley (Mitredale).
19. William Nicholson (Bought, *i.e.*, Boot).
20. Nicholas Stephenson, sen.
21. Nicholas Stephenson, jun.*
22. John Dickinson.
23. Nicholas Dickinson.
24. Richard Tyson (Hollins).

As well as those tenements which were occupied by Jurymen of the award of 1587 the following were in occupation at that time :—

Low Holme. George Porter, gent. The Porter family also were in occupation of Holgill Ridding and Porterthwaite. There are the foundations of another tenement visible above Lowholme, though I cannot trace any name for it unless it be Brow Yat. The spot where it stands is now called Rake Rigg. There are ruins of buildings in Porterthwaite Wood ; also several bloomery sites and many charcoal pitsteads. The Porters are not mentioned in the Eskdale registers till after 1660.

Yeat House. Edward Woodend and Christopher Hartley.

Randall How. John and Robert Dickonson.

Spout House. Thomas Fisher and Henry Nicholson (three tenements apparently.)

Borradaile Place. William Hartley. (Now falling to ruin.)

Bought. Gilbert and Richard Hartley, and John Nicholson. (Boot is spelled Bought or Boghte in the registers and the XXIV Book : probably equivalent to " Bucht," a sheep fold. The Parish pinfold is here.)

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* 20 *and* 21. Probably father and son ; one of these two was at Brow Yat, the other at Mitredale head.

Hows. John Nicholson.

Paddockwray. Edward Nicholson.

Christcliff. William Wilson and Nicholas Tyson. The descendant of this Tyson family owns Christcliff to-day.

Peel Place. Nicholas Hartley and Nicholas Nicholson. (Peel Place was near the Woolpack. It has vanished.)

A Close at Church. Robert Wilson.

Dawson Place. Nicholas Wilson and Robert Tyson. (Dawson Place is now the Woolpack Inn. The tavern was formerly at Low Piet Nest across the river Esk on the line of a pack-horse road. This tenement is now called Penny Hill.)

Whae's. Henry Vicars and Robert Vicars. (Wha House. There is a ford across the Esk near here.)

Tathes. William Vicars sen., and William Vicars jun. (Taw House).

Beckfoot. No name of occupier. (Now the vicarage.)

In the portion of the Award which is evidently transcribed from that of 1587, there is an interesting entry: "And the said Tenants of Wasdailehead at *Beltan* time when they bring their Goods to the Moor, that they shall put them to Maidencastle, and the said Tenants shall daily when their Goods come back into the Fence, turn up again to the said Maidencastle upon the paying for every default—6d."

Beltan Time was the changing time in May. Ancient fire celebrations held at this time.

Maiden Castle. A rude enclosure beside the track leading from Burnmoor Tarn to Wasdalehead. There is a tradition that it was one of the signalling stations by beacon fires from Cockermouth to a point on the fell above Millom, by way of Black Sail Pass, Maidencastle, etc. Small pieces of charcoal have been found at the North and centre of the cnclosure.

Another entry mentions the "highway." According to an old landowner still living in Eskdale this means the ancient pack-horse track (now almost lost in places), up Mitredale over Tongue Moor and into Wasdale. There is also the tradition that cattle came this way from Cockermouth, their hooves shod with tin plates to protect them from the roughness of the track, to go South via the ford across the Esk at Waberthwaite.

RICHARD BRAITHWAITE
from the painting at Dodding Green.

To face p. 79.

ART. VI.—*Notes on Richard Braithwaite of Burneside, the poet and writer, and his portraits.* By H. S. COWPER, F.S.A.

Read at Carlisle, April 7th, 1921.

THERE are, in certain local books, allusions to the portraits of Richard Braithwaite, and a study of these works suggests the existence of at least three paintings of this interesting man. In actual fact there appears to be only one which is original.

Cornelius Nicholson, in his "Annals of Kendal" (1832, p. 238), mentions one at Dodding Green supposed to be an original: and the same author in his "Border Forts and the Border Wars" (Kendal 1886, p. 16), says, "the late Mr. Anthony Yeats informed me that he had seen a portrait of Dapper Dick at Dalham Tower." The third, alluded to in more than one book, is in the Town Hall at Kendal; but this is a modern copy of the Dodding Green picture, given to the Corporation of Kendal about 1875 by Mr. W. Wiper.

The painting at Dodding Green is on panel in a modern frame. The sight size is 35¾ ins. by 27 ins. The poet is in the costume of a well-dressed and rather dandified gentleman of the period. He wears a grey doublet, wide lace-edged falling ruff, fastened with a ruby jewel, lace cuffs, a handsome sword supported by a crossbelt with big buckle, a ring on the second joint of the fourth finger of the left hand, wide breeches, and a dark blue or black velvet cloak hanging on his left shoulder.

The figure is a half length turned three-quarters to the left. The face is florid and handsome, the eyes dark blue, the hair light brown of medium length, and he wears

the pointed beard and moustache of the period. There are two inscriptions ; viz. :—on the spectator's right

An$^{\bar{o}}$ 1626
Æ^{t} 38

and on the spectator's left

"Pes in terris
Spes in cæ[lis]."

There can be no doubt as to whom the picture represents. The date is correct, since Braithwaite was born in 1588, and the motto was a fancy of his, used on his engraved portraits to be described.

There is further no reason to doubt that it is an original. Dodding Green with its old chapel is a place of some interest, and somewhat romantic in its character. It is within the manor of Skelsmergh, one of the possessions of the Leyburne family, who suffered for their religion, and whose estates were forfeited in 1715. It was founded under the will, dated 1716, of Robert Stephenson, a papist, and apparently a yeoman, and his initials and those of his wife are found about the buildings. The foundation was possibly a sequel to the disappearance of the Catholic Leyburnes, and may have been helped by the Braithwaites who were Catholic, and owned a moiety of the manor. Stephenson died in 1723.*

I do not think it is known how Braithwaite's portrait got to Dodding Green. He was not himself, I think, a Catholic, for in his "Strappado to the Divil," one of his satirical poems, he directly attacks that faith. But the family was, and his son, Sir Thomas Braithwaite, was a "popish recusant," at whose house, "Barneyside," mass was "familiarlye heard" in 1666, where "great Com-

* The best account of Dodding Green is in Mr. Curwen's *Kirkbie Kendall*, p. 425-6, but see also Mannex's *Westmorland*, 1849, p. 248 and 311. Also *Historical MSS. Report, No. XII., pt. VII.*, (Rydal Hall) 329, 342, and *Report No. X, pt. IV*, Browne's MSS., p. 349. Also *Old Church Plate in Diocese of Carlisle*, 1882, p. 120, for tradition of the Riding priest maintained by the Leyburnes, Thornburghs and Braithwaites.

RICHARD BRAITHWAITE

from the Frontispiece to *The English Gentleman*.

To face p. 81.

panies" assembled :* so that it is possible that one of the family left the portrait to Dodding Green ; or that it was purchased at some sale of the Burneside effects.

With regard to the third portrait suggested to exist at Dallam Tower. This is apparently a myth. I, last year, examined the portraits there in company with Sir Maurice Bromley Wilson, who had no information of such a portrait as being there. A portrait of a man in armour, which had, I think, been suggested as the portrait alluded to, has no likeness whatever to our poet.

But besides the oil painting, we have in his works several engraved portraits of considerable interest. These are :—

(1) In the "*English Gentleman.*" In the 1630 and 1633 editions of this book, we find our author occupying the centre of the frontispiece. He is full length, turned slightly to the left, wearing a big wide-awake hat, lace falling collar, doublet with cloak slipped off it on to the right arm, which is somewhat extended and supported by a long cane : the left arm "akimbo," and hand holding gloves : wide breeches and stockings. Over his head SPES IN CÆLIS, and below PES IN TERRIS. In a compartment below are the Braithwaite arms (the chevron and cross-crosslets grant) differenced by a crescent, with mantle and crest and the motto GENEROSO GERMINE GEMMO (I bud from a gentle stock). In the 1641 edition (according to Hazlitt, for I have not seen it) the costume is changed, and he wears boots, spurs and swordbelt, and has a remarkable high-crowned hat.†

(2) In Braithwaite's "A Survey of History, or A Nursery for Gentry" (1638), we find another. In this case it is a head and shoulders turned three-quarters to right in an oval. Pointed beard and moustache, lace

* See Sir D. Fleming's correspondence. R.B. was still living, but at Catterick in Yorks. See also Miss Armitt's *Rydal*, 620—624.

† Hazlitt ; revised edn. of Haslewood's *Barnabae Itinerarium*, 1876, p. 19

collar, and hair brushed back, as in the Dodding Green portrait. An inscription round the oval reads :—
THEATRUM MUNDUS, ÆRANIŪ (*sic* for *aerarium*), TEMPU' HISToria Thesaurvs (The world is a theatre; Time is a treasure-house ; History is the treasure.) Beneath " A° Ætatis 48 "; and as he was born in 1588, this portrait was drawn in 1636, or two years before publication. The likeness to the Dodding Green portrait is quite unmistakeable, and he looks fully ten years older.

(3 and 4) There are two other portraits in works of 1638. In the 1638 edition of " Barnabae Itinerarium " reprinted in 1876 by Hazlitt, the frontispiece shows our author lighting his pipe with a taper, with his pint pot, roll of tobacco and pipes, and his horse in the background. He wears big riding-boots and spurs : and Latin mottoes are freely distributed about, on the tobacco pot and elsewhere. In the same year appeared his " Psalms of David." In this work, according to the Rev. J. W. Ebsworth, in the preface to his edition of the " Strappado," there is a portrait representing a " lean-visaged yet smooth-browed decorous gentleman in a plaited ruff."This portrait is also alluded to in the Bibliographical Catalogue in Hazlitt's edition, and it appears that it is in a small oval subscribed " Quanquam O." Unfortunately I have failed to see this. The only original copy I could find at the British Museum has lost its frontispiece.

To have produced these three portraits in the same year, severally depicting himself as a squire, a ne'er-do-weel, and an ascetic, must have been just the sort of cynical conceit which would tickle the fancy of our satirist.

Lastly, there is a modern engraved portrait in the " Effigies Poeticae," p. 824. It is drawn by G. Clint and engraved by C. Pue, " from a scarce one by Vaughan in the *English Gentleman*." It is, as a matter of fact, worked up from the two engravings just described.

RICHARD BRAITHWAITE

from the Frontispiece to *A Survey of History*

To face p. 82

Besides "Drunken Barnaby," I suspect there are numerous poems by Richard Braithwaite in other works, the authorship of which has been unrecognised. While I was making notes on the Gilpin pedigree my attention was attracted to the poem which is printed at the beginning of Bishop Carleton's "Life of Bernard Gilpin," translated into English in 1629. I feel sure that this is by our poet, and venture to reprint it here since it is to an eminent local man. Braithwaite was fond of these elegies, and wrote them sometimes to local worthies.

TO THE VERTVOVS

Memory of MR. BERNARD GILPIN, *his Reverend Kinsman, sometime Parson of Haughton.*

Shew me that man who can, one amongst ten,
Who did as this man did, this man of men,
Who ne're knew Symony, that spreading Tetter,
Which makes the bribe-swolne soule the Devil's debter;
Who e're encountred with so many theeues,
Unript their rankling sores, and cur'd their grieues!
For gifts so richly rare for wit so quick,
And would refuse a proffer'd Bishoprick!
Who made the poore his children, eas'd their need,
And fed the hungry with the staffe of bread!
To blinde, to lame, to sick, to sore, to poore,
An eye, a stay, a care, a cure, a shower,
To righte, to reare, to cure, to cheere, to water,
And shew the temper of his gen'rous nature!
Finde me out such a man, North, East, South, West,
Unlesse you rake him from the *Phœnix* nest.
Now trust me these rare vertues make me proud,
Deep-stamp'd in this graue *Patriot* of my blood:
Who though translated from the paths of men,
And now translated by an English pen,
Yet shall the substance of his inward shrine
Out-liue the vading period of time:
For these sweet odours shall preserve his ame, (*sic*)*
So long as *Kent* from *Kentmere* takes his name.

Dignum laude virum
Musa vetat mori,
Cœlo beat.

* "ame," so printed: but is a letter omitted and should it read "fame"? Ame for "aim" seems unlikely, though used, I think, in Middle English.

The phrase "Graue Patriot of my blood" is a clue to the author, as well as the style. The relationship was somewhat intricate. Braithwaite's uncle, James Braithwaite, married Jane Benson, whose mother was a niece of Bernard Gilpin, and sister of Elizabeth, who married Andrew Cowper.

The poem is similar in style and metre, but in nobler diction than that by Richard Braithwaite to Alan Nicholson of Hawkshead hall. It should be noticed that in the latter he writes :—

"Yet for the Loue I bore thee and that Blood
Which 'twixt us both by Native course hath flow'd,"

although the kinship was similar to that with B. Gilpin.

The lines

"For these sweet odours shall preserve his ame,
So long as *Kent* from *Kentmere* takes his name."

should be compared with the couplet in his poem "To the Cottoneers" in his "Strappado" :—

"For water, Kent, whence Kendall takes her name
Whose spring (from Kentmere) as they say is tane."

It is not my purpose here to attempt to appraise Braithwaite's proper position among 17th century writers. His character is somewhat enigmatic. A prolific writer, a satirist and humorist, yet also a producer of devotional verse. A Royalist and landowner, yet in his poem "To the Landslord," fulminating like a present day democrat. The first of the Lake Poets, and probably the earliest to notice descriptively the characteristics of scenery. A gallant not, I think, without some personal vanity ; yet a writer of vigorous English, and a link of some importance in the chain of literary history. It is interesting to have the portraits of such a local man before us.

I have to thank the Very Reverend Canon Dunn and the Rev. J. Lenders for offering me every facility to get the portrait at Dodding Green photographed, and my friend Sir Maurice Bromley Wilson and Mr. R. H. Greenwood, for helping me to search for the supposed picture at Dallam Tower.

ART. VII.—*A foot-note on the Flemish tradition at Kendal.* By SIR S. H. SCOTT, BART.

Read at Penrith, July 7th, 1921.

THE tradition of a settlement of Flemings at Kendal is so firmly established, and has been accepted with so complete an assurance even by painstaking writers on local history that it may be worth while to examine the origin of the belief, and to point out how slender is the actual evidence on which the story rests.

The legend does not appear to be of long standing, and therefore it cannot claim the respect which, with reservations, we may accord to genuine tradition. It does not appear to be traced further than the unsupported statement in *Nicolson and Burn* that "So early as the 11th of King Edward the third, the King's agents having solicited a great many men from the Low Countries, well skilled in cloth-making, sent a colony of them (amongst other places) to Kendal."

Subsequent writers have enlarged on this and have given us the definite statement that it was a certain John Kemp who came with his workmen from Flanders to Kendal to set up his looms. This statement has even been incorporated in the great Oxford dictionary under the word *Kendal.* Now John Kemp is an authentic personage, well known to historians, although very little can be discovered regarding him. So far as Kendal is concerned, probably our local writers have been led astray by the very positive statements of the second edition of Cornelius Nicholson's *Annals of Kendal,* which has been freely drawn upon by later writers.

It is worth noting that the second edition of this useful work omits the passage which in the first edition of 1832

lets out that these definite assertions are based "on the testimony of Encyclopaedia Londinensis," and not on any ancient sources or local tradition.

It is, therefore, scarcely worth while to spend time in considering Kendal's claim to John Kemp, since no valid evidence has ever been put forward in support of it, and so far as any evidence regarding Kemp is available, it is against the theory. The Letters of Protection issued to Kemp in 1331 give no clue to his domicile in England, and no other evidence can be discovered unless we assume that he is to be identified with the John Kemp, merchant of Ghent, who was declared in 1341 quit of all tolls payable by aliens (*Close Rolls*, 1341), and the John Kempe of Norwich, attorney of the merchants of Almain in 1347 (*ibid.*, 1347). If, as seems not unlikely, these are references to the same man, it is clear that Kemp settled in the rich and important city of Norwich, a staple town of the wool trade.

Apart from John Kemp himself, there remains the question whether or not at this or any subsequent time Flemish weavers settled in Kendal. On this point it is impossible to be dogmatic, but it may certainly be said that no direct evidence of a Flemish settlement has been adduced, and that as it is not one of the districts which had a close connexion with Flanders, such as East Anglia or the coast towns of Kent, the absence of evidence goes a long way to negative a fairly recent tradition.

There were two classes of Flemish immigrants in mediaeval times; those who were brought over under Royal patronage and those who, flying from civil disturbance, were forced to leave their country and arrived in a destitute condition. These destitute aliens naturally concentrated in counties nearest the east coast, and we should hardly look for them as far afield as Westmorland. Those who were invited hither by the Government settled in what were then the wool-growing and manu-

facturing districts, it being the policy of the Crown to prohibit the export of wool to Flanders, and to promote manufactures in this country by attracting an industrial population.

So far from being of such a quality as would attract skilled craftsmen, the wool grown on the Westmorland fells was of an inferior quality and unsuited for the finer sorts of cloth, although it was well adapted for certain coarse makes. In fact, the Statute of 1389, which all our local chroniclers cite as containing the earliest reference to Kendal cloth as a distinct make, recites that " a great part is made of the worst wool within the realm, that cannot well serve for other cloth," and the inferiority of Westmorland wool is borne out by the market price, the lowest in England, as assessed for the royal " aid " in 1337 and at later periods (*Close Roll* 1337).

The Statute of 1389 is one to exempt these coarse cloths from the measuring and sealing of the aulnager, for reasons which are not very obvious, but probably connected with its being a cheap and inferior kind of cloth.*

In support of the supposition that the trade had been introduced by Flemings, it has been pointed out that the " cloths made in divers counties " called " cogware and Kendal cloth " are described as being made of a length of three-quarters of a yard, which is the equivalent of the Flemish ell of 27 inches. There may be some grounds for regarding this as evidence of a Flemish origin of the species of manufacture (Cunningham, *op. cit.*, i, 435). On the other hand, these cloths were sold to " cogmen out of the realm," and may have been made of a length required for

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Possibly on account of the difficulty of conforming to a strict measure in the case of this manufacture (v. Cunningham, *English Industry and Commerce* i, 322), or even from an absence of temptation to illegal stretching.

Ashley (*Economic History* ii, 193) suggests that it was considered advisable to exempt cloth made for sale to the poorer classes. But according to the Statute these cloths were for export.

foreign markets accustomed to trade with the cities of Flanders.

Moreover, it is clear that cloth of this kind was made in different parts of the country, and that the term "Kendal" had by this time become a trade name for a kind of cloth wherever it was made,* so that this evidence, unsupported by other indications of the presence of Flemings at Kendal, is obviously of little value.

At this point we shall no doubt be reminded of the so-called Flemish aisle in the church. Here again, in spite of definite and circumstantial statements in a recently issued guide, we have a tradition which appears to be of quite recent growth and to have assumed concrete form out of the cautious suggestion of a possibility.

Finally we have the presence of the surname *Fleming* in the neighbourhood. The name is undoubtedly not uncommon, but it is questionable whether those bearing it are so numerous as not to be accounted for by the descendants of the well-known family of Rydal. We know that the descendants of younger sons soon sank into obscurity, and that even the "great squire" called cousins with humble folk.

It is recorded that one of the Dukes of Norfolk conceived the idea of entertaining all the scions of his house, but was deterred from the plan when it was calculated that he would have to invite some ten thousand persons. Remembering the prolific families of old days, it is probably unnecessary to look further for the origin of the name *Fleming* than the ancient family which has played so important a part in our local history.

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* The name *Kendal,* in addition to being generically applied to a coarse friese, seems from the 15th century onwards to have been applied to a cloth of fine quality, used at the Courts of both England and Scotland. Was this term sometimes applied to the colour rather than to the make of the cloth? We read for instance of "Kentish Kendal," which would hardly be made of inferior wool.

We may conclude then that there is no reason for supposing Kendal to owe anything to Flemish teachers, and we may believe that it is due to the enterprise of Westmorland men that our remote valleys were the seat of a trade which in the days of domestic industry flourished in England from north to south and east to west.

ART. VIII.—*Bloomery sites in Eskdale and Wasdale* (Part I). By DR. CHARLES A. PARKER and MISS MARY C. FAIR.

Read at Penrith, July 7th, 1921.

THE late Dr. Parker commenced the work of tracing out the bloomery sites of Eskdale and Wasdale, a work he was unfortunately unable to complete. I have not his wide knowledge and skill in such matters, but have done the best I could to put together a list and description of all the bloomery sites of which I can obtain information, or of which I can find traces. I propose dividing this paper into two parts :—

(I) The bloomery sites of Mitredale and the Esk valley.

(II)—The bloomery sites of the Upper Esk valley and Bow Fell, and the bloomery sites of Wasdale.

I.—THE BLOOMERY SITES OF MITREDALE AND ESKDALE.

MITREDALE. PORTERTHWAITE WOOD. Bloomery sites, noted as existing here by the late Rev. W. S. Calverley, but no clue as to whereabouts. The wood is now very thickly overgrown, and it is difficult to trace out workings of the kind. I have found three sites.

NO. I. There are traces of somewhat extensive workings to the right of the Eskdale to Strands road, just over the bridge across the Mite. At the foot of a conical mound, between it and the river, is a small, artificial watercourse (now usually dry), passing under the road into the Mite. In the western face of this mound is a large heap of clinker and heavy slag of the usual type where the smelting process has been somewhat primitive, and between the mound and the road is the foundation of

a circular building approximately 44 feet in diameter. Across the road at the foot of the first hill are further remains of bloomery workings in a hollow adjoining a little stream which comes down the wood, flowing into the Mite. There are slag heaps, traces of a very rude hearth of small size (5 feet in external diameter), traces of red oxide puddle and charcoal. The natural draught is good, and the water-power fair. There are several charcoal pitsteads adjoining these workings, two being on the top of the mound previously alluded to.

2. On the ancient road leading from the Whitehaven road to Low Place through Porterthwaite wood, there is the site of a small bloomery on the east bank of a little stream to the north of the road. This site is about 100 yards south of the ruins of an ancient homestead (in one corner of which Mr. Calverley records the finding of a celt), in the wood. There are traces of a very small and rude hearth, several small heaps of heavy slag and clinker and charcoal, and two charcoal pitsteads adjoining. Fair natural draught, and poor water-force.

3. A quarter of a mile east of No. 2 along the old road, beyond the gate, about 40 yards south of the road at the edge of a hollow at the bottom of which runs a little stream, is a bloomery site. The hearth is on the lip of the hollow; it is 18 feet in external diameter, with a well defined gutter leading down the slope which is strewn with slag over a good portion of its surface. Higher up the stream are traces of oxide puddle on its banks. There are no heaps of slag or clinker. Good natural draught and poor water-power.

There are numerous pitsteads for charcoal burning in the wood opposite Low Place, though careful search has revealed no bloomery site here. Porterthwaite wood is full of pitsteads, and there are also the remains of kilns used for burning bracken roots for soap making (note by late Rev. W. S. Calverley).

In a little wood on the north bank of the Mite, just below Mrs. Rea's Home Farm, at the opposite side of the river, are little heaps of slag. No traces of any hearth.

BURN BOOTH. On the north bank of the Mite, opposite the ruins known as Walk Milne (formerly a fulling mill), are traces of foundations of some building (the place is called "Burn Booth"), and patches of red oxide puddle. No slag heap located though it is said the site was a bloomery.

ESKDALE. ESKDALE GREEN (formerly known as Yeat House Green). A field known as Smithy Dale adjoins Irton Road station of the Narrow Gauge Railway to the south of the line. The field has been constantly ploughed, but I have found here a few pieces of slag.

About 400 yards from the last site, in a large field opposite the villa known as "The Birches," just over the wall of the high road there is a bloomery site at the foot of a rocky slope. Foundations of masonry (apparently two small hearths) can be traced and slag is abundant as well as oxide puddle. At some remote time the field has been ploughed destroying many traces of the extent of smelting operations. The slag extends scattered about into the bottom of the garden of the house on the hill known as "Gowrie," and there are extensive remains of charcoal scattered about all over the adjoining field, below "Gowrie" and the next house, "Moor Head." Good natural draught, but no water-power except a very small runner.

FOREST HOWE. The extensive bloomery site situated on the slope of Muncaster Fell and the field at the other side of the road between Irton road and Muncaster Head has been previously noted in these *Transactions* (N.S. XIX, p. 168). It must have been of considerable extent. On the south-west side of the hill on which this bloomery is situated I have found iron ore (turned up in digging out rabbits whilst ferretting), but no signs of

adjacent mine workings. It was here that I found a fragment of a Roman amphora and pieces of Roman tile. Fair natural draught; only water-power a small runner. From this bloomery an ancient road leads direct to

MUNCASTER HEAD BLOOMERY SITE. This is quite the most interesting of the sites I have so far met with. It is in a field at the opposite side of the Private Drive to Muncaster Head Farm, to the east. There is a great quantity of charcoal; the tenant of the farm tells me that the charcoal extends for four feet at least underground as well as some six feet above. There are also great heaps of clinker and heavy slag, and where the land has been ploughed it is red with iron oxide. There are foundations of buildings (? hearth sites), in one of which I found two fragments of heavy Roman floor-tile. This does not prove the Roman origin of the workings, as the Roman tile manufactory was only something under a mile away westward along the Drive, and some medieval iron-founder may quite well have brought bricks and tiles from here for his bloom-smithy. In the mud of a small runlet adjacent I found pieces of burnt brick and what look like Roman tiles. That the site was an important one, less primitive than many in the neighbourhood, is shown by the existence of an artificial water-conduit which passes from the front of the farm, alongside the bloomery site, finishing abruptly at the bank of the river Esk some fifty yards below the Lord's Bridge. This canal is about 10 to 18 feet in width; its depth I do not know, as it is now silted up with black mud. Near its river end is a small heap of slag, also remains of masonry built with mortar. From the mud I got some pieces of firestained brick and large lumps of friable, red, baked brick clay. There is a curious deep, boggy hollow behind the farm which may possibly have been the reservoir for supplying the canal with water. I am informed by the son of a patient of Dr. Parker's that he

had examined this trench (which I at first took for a road), and also arrived at the definite conclusion that it was a water conduit. Quite near to the spot at the river end where there are signs of masonry, Dr. Parker in his book "The Gosforth District" tells us that during the making of the Drive a trough made of the hollowed trunk of a tree was discovered, complete with spigots *in situ* and drains for water leading to and from. It is possible that this had some connection with the canal.

Forge Farm. About half a mile from the Muncaster Head bloomery to the east, across the river Esk, there is a bloomery site in a small paddock adjoining the farm now called the Forge Farm. The old name of this farm is Howe Howe or Howe Powe. It has only been known as the Forge Farm comparatively recently. The ground has been ploughed though now pasture, but the tenant (Mr. William Southward) informs me that a quantity of slag and cinders is scattered about over the field under the grass. I saw plenty of heavy slag and clinker in the dyke bank dividing the field from the wood, and also on the banks of a runner at the foot of the wood. No traces of hearth. There are numerous charcoal pit-steads in this wood, and Mr. Southward tells me that he remembers charcoal being burned there. Good natural draught, but no water-power to speak of.

Linbeck Mill. About a mile from the Forge Farm along the old road beside the Esk on its south side, is the ruin of a mill called Linbeck Mill. This is built on a slag-heap which extends to the beck, and other heaps are on the bank of the Esk. The old mill race (now dry) is cut through one of these slag-heaps. Adjacent are mounds of charcoal. There is a hollow much overgrown with bracken which may be a hearth site. Good natural draught and ample water-power. Mr. Southward informs me that the mill was working up to about eighteen years ago. An older mill, now completely vanished, formerly

existed higher up Linbeck Ghyll. In the registers and chapel wardens' account book of Eskdale "Ghyll" and "Mill" are noted as separate tenements.

Dalegarth Wood. There are two (if not more) bloomery sites here. One, No. 2, has been known for many years, being first mentioned by the late Rev. W. S. Calverley. No. 1, I discovered recently. This site is situated about 100 yards through the wood east of the gate by Turn Dub. There is a small heap of slag on the old road, another to the right in the wood, and over a wall to the left, more heaps of heavy slag on the bank of a small runner. No trace of hearth. There are heaps of charcoal in the vicinity, and pitsteads in the wood.

No. 2 is in the wood beside the road immediately behind Dalegarth Hall. This appears to have been a more extensive working than the other, judging from the slag-heaps. There are also the remains of a hearth which is about 20 feet in external diameter at the top. There is a well defined channel or conduit leading from the bottom to a trough made of rough masonry. Adjoining are small heaps of charcoal and patches of oxide puddle. Fair natural draught, and no water-power, except small gutters.

Stanley Ghyll Guest House. Two slag-heaps in the garden here, near to the river Esk. Owing to disturbance of ground due to making the garden, the scope of the work cannot be traced. Before the building of this place, the ground was open common.

Vicarage Glebe. Many years ago I noted a small heap of heavy slag under the bushes on a steep bank beside the river Esk, about 50 yards below the Dalegarth Bridge. It is now quite overgrown, and not to be located. No hearth found. A little lower down the river it is probable that there was a ford giving communication between Dalegarth Hall and Beckfoot (now the vicarage).

UNDERBANK WOOD. This is across the river from the old church, a little to the east. I am told that there is a slag-heap here, but the wood is so overgrown that I have not been able to locate it. During the time in the 19th century when iron ore was mined at Boot, operations were also carried on here. A bridge was built across the Esk carrying a waggon-way to an adit in the fell side now fallen in. There are other numerous shafts sunk in the fell side. The waggon-way joined the railway (crossing the high road and the Whellan Beck), between Boot and Beckfoot.

LOW BIRKER. This site was first noted by the Rev. W. S. Calverley, and later by the Rev. W. S. Sykes and Dr. Parker. I have recently examined it. It is situated on the ancient road on the south side of the Esk leading from Dalegarth Hall to Low Birker and Penny Hill, being about 270 yards west of the former. On the bank of a little stream north of the road is a slag-heap, and there are several others and heaps of charcoal over the wall in the wood. No trace of hearth or oxide puddle in wood. At the other side of the little beck between it and the gate is a hollow suggesting the site of a hearth about 12 feet in external diameter, with a rude gutter sloping to the stream. In the field at the other side of the wall there are heaps of oxide mixed with metallic ore on the banks of the stream, and red oxide and slag are scattered here and there in the earth of the field lately turned up by the plough. On the bank of the stream just above its junction with the Esk is a depression which looks as if it might be a hearth site 13 feet in external diameter. Poor natural blast, but ample water-power from Esk. There are numerous charcoal pitsteads in Birker Wood.

HARDKNOTT GHYLL. Noted by the Rev. W. S. Calverley, but no clue as to exact locality. To the right of the road ascending the pass about 50 yards over the bridge are remains of a hearth or kiln, the bottom of which

is covered with burnt matter. From the bottom, a gutter slopes down in direction of the stream. The ruin is some 18 feet in external diameter at the top. I have not been able to find a slag-heap, but through the gate above, at the right beside the ancient track leading from a ford, is a heap of iron ore. There are charcoal pitsteads in the wood at the opposite side of the road from the hearth. Good natural draught.

The bloomeries in Eskdale appear to have been of somewhat varying types, those at Forest Howe and Muncaster Head being the most extensive. The making of the elaborate conduit at the latter suggests an important smelting furnace, as does also the ground covered at Forest Howe near to which are foundations of a large block of buildings.

The next in importance is that in Dalegarth wood, No. 2, which, though of different type, appears to have been on a larger scale than the others which must have been of primitive plan. I have been told by a dalesman that his grandfather could remember the smelting of iron in the woods in the old rude way, so that many of these small sites may be comparatively modern. Iron ore abounds in the fells all round Eskdale, and no doubt has been worked from early times. Every wood contains numbers of charcoal pitsteads, and the number of the bloomery sites suggests that the iron required for the dwellers in the dale was smelted locally. Possibly the two at Muncaster Head and Forest Howe may have been Roman, a fact that can only be definitely settled by excavation. The others are more likely to be medieval and of 17th, 18th, or even early 19th century origin. Many of the workings are so small as to suggest that the owner of the tenement did his own iron smelting as he wanted iron.

ART. IX.—*A Relic of Pack-horse Days in Eskdale.* By MISS MARY C. FAIR.

Read at Penrith, July 7th, 1921.

ESKDALE Green (formerly known as Yeat House Green) was formerly an important centre on the pack-horse route from Broughton to Cockermouth. It is not wonderful, therefore, to find that the smithy on Randle How was evidently of some consequence, a fact testified to by the lintel of a cottage (now the property of Mrs. J. H. Rea, Gate House) on the pack-horse track as it comes over the summit of Randle How.

This lintel is made from a fine block of red sandstone; it has carved upon it the insignia of the smith's trade—hammer, horse-shoe, and pincers—together with the initials I. N. and the date 1679. I. N. stands for John Nicholson, doubtless the 17th-century blacksmith who plied his trade here. The Nicholson family has long been mentioned as occupying tenements at the time of the

Jury of Court both in 1587 and 1659. In the parish registers there is an entry "Child of John Nicholson of Randle How bapt. 1717." Also Rachel Nicholson of Randle How, bur. 1779; Hannah Nicholson of Randle How, bur. 1780; Hannah Nicholson of Randle How, bur. 1790; William Nicholson of Randle How, bur. 1804. In 1587 and 1659 the Nicholson family were dwelling at farms in Mitredale, and Hollinghow, as well as several tenements at the Boot end of the dale. They were then evidently a numerous and important clan. One is described as a "Forrester." The family is still well represented in Eskdale.

In pack-horse days, several roads converged in the vicinity of Randle How. The road from Broughton came up somewhere near the "King George" hotel joining that from Ravenglass which turns up to climb the ascent at Randle How just before Eskdale Green station is reached. Beyond the smithy another road came across the bog from an ancient track passing across towards Whitehaven from Muncaster Head direction. There is still a right of way across this soft ground. The road passed through Eskdale Green and up Smithy Brow (where there was another shoeing-forge, now vanished) past Low Holme and through Porterthwaite Wood to Strands and Whitehaven. From this road another branched off up Mitredale, passing over Tongue Moor to Wasdale Head and Cockermouth and Keswick. This road over Tongue Moor was known as "The Highway."

Another road passed eastwards up Eskdale on the line of the Roman road over Hardknott Pass, and so to Ambleside, etc. There was also a road under the north side of Muncaster Fell, following the course of the narrow gauge railway track in places; in others it may be seen (notably near Murthwaite) adjoining the line.

Near Eskdale Green railway station there was a tavern on the pack-horse route, now marked by a barn. The

sign of this tavern hung in a tree. Probably it, like John Nicholson's smithy above it, did an excellent trade when the commerce of the country-side was carried on by the trains of packhorses.

ART. X.—*The port of Ravenglass.* By the REV. CÆSAR CAINE.

Read at Penrith, July 7th, 1921.

I HAVE found it a fairly easy task to present, in the form of a public lecture, a continuous memoir of the Ravenglass estuary or creek, in Roman, Scandinavian, and Mediaeval days, from data already published in these *Transactions.* In this paper my purpose is to supply some later details from manorial and other records.

The Elizabethan "Survey of the Estates of the Earl of Northumberland," preserved at Cockermouth Castle, has practically nothing to say about shipping, only naming it in connection with the fisheries. This section reads :—

And also Keel-toll, to wit, to have all the tolls of ships, and of all merchandise, sold in all havens of Coupland, and the amendment of the Assize of nets broken* in the waters of Eske, (and)† between Ehen and Calder, the mastes‡ whereof are of lesser breadth than four inches ; the fishgarths and fishings at Ravenglass in the River Eske, now in the hands of the lord, rent by the year £3 6*s.* 8*d.*

Coming to the 18th century we find harbour dues are still exacted :—

Anchorage :—a ship, 4d. ; a ship with a boat, 8d.

In 1757 three shillings were received as dues, indicating the anchorage of nine vessels.

Here are a few forms of receipt :—

Three shillings received for anchorage of ships in Ravenglass Harbour within the Lordship of Egremont, between June, 1761, and June, 1762.

Two shillings received for anchorage of ships in Ravenglass Harbour within the Lordship of Egremont, between the 22nd of June, 1762, and 23rd of June, 1763.

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* Broken=opened, set, or laid.

† "and" left out in the original document.

‡ Meshes.

Received for anchorage of ships in Ravenglass Harbour, 22nd November, 1768, to 21st November, 1769, £0 2*s.* 6*d.*
Received for anchorage of ships in Ravenglass Harbour, between 19th August, 1765, and 18th November, 1766, £0 4*s.* 2*d.*

We must be careful not to estimate the value of the amounts by the depreciated value of money at the present day.

About this time certain persons using the harbour declined to pay their dues. Isaac Cuppage, who acted as harbour-master, thus reports to the agent of the Lordship :—

Ravenglass, August 31, 1768.

Mr. John Benson,

Captain C., of the *Peggy and Mally*, now in this harbour. This is the second time of his coming in, and (he) refuses to pay anything, and so you may take your pleasure.

I am, your humble servant,

ISAAC CUPPAGE.

The agent passes the matter on in the following letter :—

Sir. By the above you see the captain of the *Peggy and Mally* refuses to pay anchorage. Mr. John Jackson, of Muncaster, has also refused to pay anchorage for two ships this summer, as also one Isaac Wilson, captain of the Senhouse, from Maryport ; and two others from Ulverston, Sanderson and Wright. Is anything to be done to force them to pay, or must they pass, and (are we) only (to) take anchorage of those who are good natured enoff (*sic*, enough) to pay quietly ? Your advice and instruction on this will much oblige. Your most humble and obedient servant,

JOHN BENSON.

Dues were paid long after this, but there is no doubt that from about this time the harbour laws became more or less neglected.

The "anchorage" included a great buoy, which appears to have caused no end of trouble by breaking loose.

1761.—By an allowance of 6*s.* and 2*d.* paid to John Coupland for a stone and crook for fastening the buoy in Ravenglass Harbour, omitted in the former charge on this account, in 1759, but paid since as particular account and receipt.

1762-3.—By an allowance of 9*s.* and 4*d.* paid Isaac Cuppage for

re-fixing the buoy in Ravenglass Harbour, which was broken loose by the violence of the tides, as particular accompt.

At a much later date an interesting story is told about this troublesome buoy. A vessel laden with Indian corn sought anchorage on it, but the captain was unable to find it. Being uncertain as to his position, and the "lie" of the harbour, he made for Whitehaven, which he knew well. Leaving his vessel there, he came by road to Ravenglass to investigate matters, and to learn how he might get his vessel anchored there, according to his original plan. To his surprise he found the buoy, which should have guided him and afforded him anchorage, lying high and dry at the top of the village street, whither it had been carried by a storm-driven high tide. The church hall in Ravenglass stands to-day on the site of a garden where the buoy was actually found.

At the beginning of the 19th century there appears to have been some revival in the interests of shipping at Ravenglass. In 1800 the following letter was addressed to Lord Muncaster by his agent :—

Also, as to any dues from Ravenglass port on account of the Earl of Egremont keeping up a sort of beacon : There are few vessels that enter the harbour in course of the year. Besides I do not recollect any beacon. I have sometimes seen a pole set up on the sandhills upon Eskmeals, but I dare say I have no way particularly noticed nor esteemed it to be of much use there, as the ground is too low. If your lordship were to purchase this from the Earl of Egremont, and would go to the expense of building a pillar in the high ground in Muncaster Park for a sea-mark, and would lay out a few hundred pounds deepening the channel of the harbour, it might be advantageous to the trade of this western coast.

By 1823 the proposed tower was erected on Newton Knott, but not by Lord Muncaster, and a chart by James Lawson of Parton, with instructions to sailing masters, was published.

I have failed to find any documents respecting the building of the tower, but local traditions respecting the

matter are fairly unanimous. Fortunately, the inscription on the tower was copied before it was obliterated. The copy reads :—" This beacon was erected by the voluntary subscriptions of the Cumberland shipping interest, for whose accommodation this ground was generously given by Mrs. Dixon, Newtown.—1823."

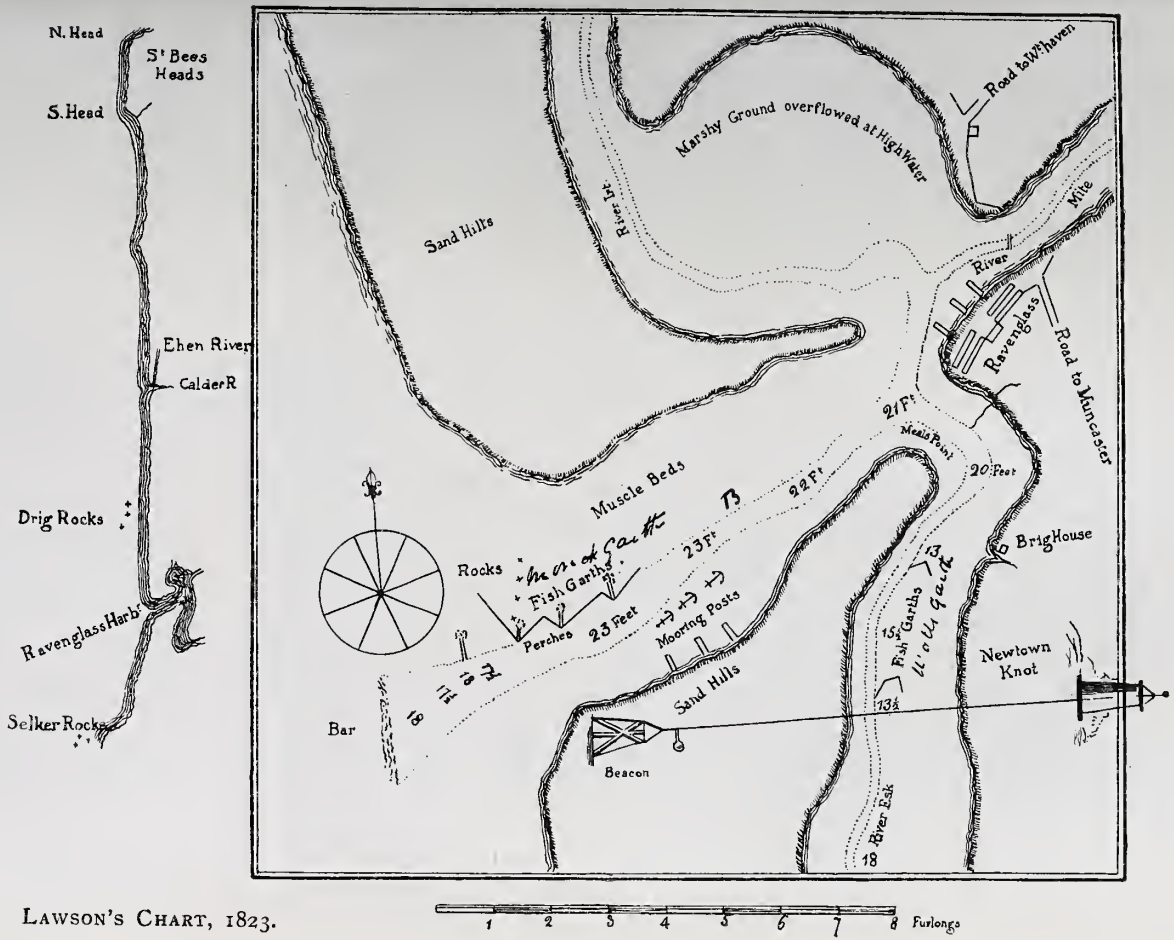
The copy, which was made in 1899, is under a sketch intended to represent the stone in outline, and shows an oval lozenge within a square. The inscription was within the oval.

There was some divergence of opinion as to whether the inscription was cut out, or whether the stone bearing the inscription was only turned round. But I am able to state on authority that the wording was not obliterated, nor was the stone reversed. The stone was thrown down and destroyed. Fragments remain, showing the lettering.

The tower was kept in order by the ship-owners of the district. Before the lightship was placed on Selker Rocks, the tower was regularly whitewashed for the purpose of making it more conspicuous. This whitewashing was done for the last time about 36 years ago. The workmen came from Whitehaven or St. Bees, and it is believed acted under the direction of Trinity House. At a subsequent date the Newtown Knott property came into the possession of Lord Muncaster, and is now included in the Muncaster Park.

Lawson's Chart has the following directions for sailing into Ravenglass Harbour :—

The harbour is easily distinguished at sea by a tower lately erected on Newtown Knott, a hill situate about half-a-mile south of Ravenglass. When you make the Tower, endeavour to bring it to bear East, per compass, and standing until you make the Beacon on the Sand Hills also. You should, before you take the Bar, have the two Beacons in one : care should be taken to keep rather to the Southward than the North, as the spring tides are very apt to sweep you to the Northward, where the ground is foul. When you approach the Entrance you will observe four Perches,



LAWSON'S CHART, 1823.

situate on the North side of the Channel, which keep on your larboard hand about thirty feet, where you have the best water. When you have passed the uppermost Perch, steer up E.N.E. until you bring the Beacon in Newtown Knot to bear S.E. by East half East per compass. Then let go your anchor, and moor in to the Southward, where there are Posts erected for that purpose, near the Sand Hills, opposite the Anchor Buts.

N.B.—It is High Water at Ravenglass at Full and Change, at 11 o'clock, and the tide off the Bar runs as follows:—the last Half Flood, and the first Half Ebb sets to the Northward at the rate of 4 miles per hour in Spring Tides, and the last Half Ebb and the first Half Flood to the Southward at the same rate. There is a foot of water more on the Bar than given in Holden's Tide Table.

The trade at this time consisted principally of corn, flour, oysters, oatmeal, bacon, iron, lime, potatoes, coal and various kinds of wood, such as spars, hoops, etc.

About the middle of the century, one Walter Scott, (whose descendants still live in the village), rented the harbour mouth fishery, and occupied the post of harbour-master.

There is a list of the vessels which entered the harbour in 1853, made out and signed by him. It reads:—

List of vessels at Ravenglass, 1853:—

Feb. 9—*May*, of Ulverston.
Feb. 10—*Dotty*, of Fleetwood.
March 10—*Hero*, of Maryport.
March 30—*Dotty*, of Fleetwood.
June 16—*Speakman*, of Preston.
Sept. 3—*Margaret*, of Glasgow.

(Signed) WALTER SCOTT.

Mr. Martin Ashburner of Gosforth, miller, who died in 1890, used to charter small craft to bring wheat for his mill. The wheat was discharged into country carts, and so brought to Gosforth.

There have been several wrecks in the harbour vicinity. About 1842, Ravenglass owned a sloop of 180 tons, named *The Duchess of Leinster*, sailed by Captain Candlish. This vessel came to grief, but it was recovered by Mr. Richard

Taylor, agent for the Muncaster estates up to and including 1861, and he continued to sail her.

Later, *The Ada*, carrying iron from Dublin to Workington, sank on the south side of The Bar. This happened about forty years ago, and there are people living in the village who took part in the rescue of the crew, and the salvage of the cargo. At low tides a portion of the wreck is to be seen to-day.*

One other circumstance may be noticed, in conclusion, as further depreciating the trade of Ravenglass—the opening of the Furness Railway about 1850. People still living remember coals for local use being brought in by ship. There was a depôt or wharf on the beach at the lower end of the town. Coals, lime, and many other commodities, which were once sea-borne, are now brought in by railway. The last sea-going vessel to enter the harbour was a schooner, bringing a valuable cargo of guano. This was in 1914.

One question has been repeatedly asked respecting this harbour:—"Was there a stone wharf or dock at any time at Ravenglass?" No written evidence on this matter has been produced. I suggest that Ravenglass has never been more than a natural harbour—a spacious creek with special facilities for accommodating shipping.

There was a "hard" for boats at one time. This was erected at the cost of the well-known artist, William Stott of Oldham, who occupied Holly House. His studio still stands in rear of the house.

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* There is a fairly full account of this wreck in *The Whitehaven News*, for May 26, 1921.

ART. XI.—*Salkeld Regis, Scotby and Sowerby.* By T. H. B. GRAHAM, M.A.

Communicated at Carlisle, September 13th, 1921.

IT is surmised that the six scattered manors, Carlatton, Langwathby, Penrith, Salkeld Regis, Scotby and Sowerby, all assarts of the forest, were held *in capite* by Ranulf Meschin until 1122, when he surrendered to Henry I. the seigniory of the land of Carlisle. The manors thus became royal demesne and continued such ever after. They were pertinents of Carlisle Castle (*Cal. Doc. Scot.*, ii., p. 36). In 1242, they were moulded into a group and granted, for political reasons, to Alexander II. of Scotland and his heirs. The grantee was an ordinary tenant *in capite*, holding by homage, fealty and the annual rent of a sor goshawk ; so, when he and his successor on the throne died, the premises escheated to the king of England, until seisin, or feudal possession, was delivered to the grantee's heir. During a short interval after Alexander II.'s death, the sheriff accounted to Henry III. for the profits of each several manor comprised in the group (*Cal. Doc. Scot.*, i., p. 333) and, during a longer interval after Alexander III.'s death, the sheriff made a similar return to Edward I. (*Hist. Doc. Scot.*, edit. Stevenson, i., pp. 2 *et seqq.*).

Henry III. expressly excepted advowsons from the original conveyance, but afterwards granted them to Alexander III. The advowsons of Carlatton and Sowerby passed by the grant. The church of Penrith was given by Henry I. to the bishop of Carlisle at the foundation of the see (*Cal. Close Rolls*, 3 Henry III., p. 405 and *Cal. Pat. Rolls* of the same year, p. 210). The church of Salkeld Regis had already been given by Henry III. in 1236-7, to

bishop Walter Malclerk and the priory of Carlisle. The early records are silent concerning a church at Langwathby or Scotby.

In 1290, the group was in the king's hand and he delivered it to Anthony Bek, bishop of Durham, until the latter had recouped himself some money paid out of pocket (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 18 Edward I., p. 386). That transaction was at an end in 1293, when John de Bailliol, king of Scotland, received seisin of the manors of Sowerby and Penrith and the hamlets of Langwathby, Salkeld, Carlatton and Scotby, appendant thereto (Rymer, *Foedera*, i., p. 792). In the following year, John de Bailliol assigned the whole group and its advowsons to Anthony, bishop of Durham, for life (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 22, Edward I., p. 102). The general history of the group is outlined in the account given of Carlatton (these *Transactions*, N.S. XX., p. 19) and it remains to notice some details respecting the three particular manors which are the subject of this paper.

SALKELD REGIS.

Ranulf Meschin, by charter, to which his wife Lucia was witness, gave to the Abbey of St. Mary, York, two parts of the tithe arising from "my demesne of Salchild" (Prescott, *Wetherhal*, p. 13). Waldeve, son of Gospatric, granted tithe of Salkeld demesne to the same abbey (Dugdale, *Mon.*, iii., p. 550). The said Waldeve, styled "brother of Dolfin," attested the inquisition concerning land of the see of Glasgow made in 1120–1 by David I. when earl of Cumbria (*Eccles. Doc., edit.* Haddan and Stubbs, vol. ii., p. 17). It is inferred that Waldeve was Ranulf Meschin's feoffee of Salkeld, and became, at Ranulf's departure, tenant-in-chief of the manor. He therefore confirmed to the abbey Ranulf's gift of tithe. Wetheral Priory, a cell of the said abbey, enjoyed those two parts of the tithe, while the rector for the time being of Salkeld had the other part.

The *culturae* of the demesne land in the vill or territory of "Salkeld Regis," 147 acres, from which the tithe was derived, are specified by name (*Wetherhal*, p. 373). The manor and its appurtenant advowson belonged to the crown.

The pipe roll of 1187 records that the sheriff owed two shillings for four acres of wheat at "Salkeld," demesne of the king.

Salkeld Regis must be distinguished from Old Salkeld, let to farm from 1164 until 1185, in conjunction with Upperby (*Pipe Rolls*). Even at that period, Old Salkeld was traditionally the earlier inhabited site. It is alleged that there are still traces of an earthwork at the spot.

On December 28th, 1201, Master Revel de Vernolio (*Verneuil*) had the king's letters patent, directed to the archdeacon of Carlisle, concerning the church of Salkeld in the king's gift (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 3 John, p. 4).

The king wrote on March 6th, 1204–5, to the bishop of Carlisle, "We have conferred upon Master Matthew, *jesicus noster*, the church of Salkeld, vacant and in our gift. We present him to you and desire that you admit and institute him to the said church, which belonged to Thomas de Argentoillo (*Argenteuil*) clerk" (*ibid.*, 6 John, p. 51); and on January 2nd, 1205–6, he directed that dues lately rendered to Thomas de Argentoillo, clerk of the King of France, "to whom we gave the church of Salkeld," should in future be paid to Master Matthew, *medicus noster* (*ibid.*, 7 John, p. 57). The *Testa de Nevill* refers to the church of Salkeld, "which Master Matthew, *medicus*, holds of King John's gift."

In 1208, Robert, son of Simon de Salkeld, paid 100 shillings, in order that his son might be quit of a fawn, which he took in the forest (*Pipe Roll*).

Lewelin had letters of presentation to the church of Salkeld in the king's gift, directed to the bishop of

Carlisle on February 13th, 1208–9 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 10 John, p. 89).

But, on September 20th, 1214, the king wrote to the bishop of Winchester (*sic.*) "Will you let Thomas de Argentoillo, clerk to the king of France, have the church of Salkeld, so far as it pertains to us, without delay, and whoever possesses it?" (*ibid.*, 16 John, p. 122).

Henry III. directed, in January 1226–7, that his men of Salkeld should have timber from Inglewood, as in King John's time (*Cal. Close Rolls*, 10 Henry III., p. 95). Among serjeanties arrented during Henry III.'s reign was that of Thomas le Venor and Alice, his wife, at Salkeld. Thomas held the land by service of purchasing munition (*warnestura*) for the king in Yorkshire, but he had alienated to Nicholas, son of Robert, part of the land, namely, 4 acres, worth two shillings a year. So he paid a fine of half a mark *per annum*, in order that Nicholas should be answerable to Thomas for one-third of the value of his tenement and that Thomas should be answerable for the residue of the fine, be quit of the service of the serjeanty, and do service of one-twentieth part of a knight's fee (*Victoria Hist. Cumb.*, i., p. 424). A later memorandum states that the serjeanty of "Thomas Venator" had been changed to military service, namely one-twentieth of a knight's fee (*ibid.*).

Henry III., by charter dated 1236–7, gave to the church of Blessed Mary and to Walter, bishop of Carlisle, the advowson of the church of Salkeld, in perpetual alms (*Placita de quo waranto*, p. 116). It was ordered, in 1238, that Martin de Sancta Cruce (*St. Croix*) presently referred to, should have six oaks from the king's forest of Carlisle, *ad se hospitandum apud Salkeld* (*Cal. Close Rolls*, 22 Henry III., p. 40). In 1242, the king of Scotland became tenant-in-chief of the manor. Commissioners were appointed in 1274, to enquire whether Alexander III.'s men of Salkeld were entitled to common pasture in

Plumpton Park, enclosed in Henry III.'s reign, and housebote and heybote in Inglewood forest (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 2 Edward I., p. 69).

At the *Valor* of Pope Nicholas, 1291, the taxation of *spiritualia* was made by Richard de Wytebi, archdeacon of Carlisle, and a marginal note describes the church of Salkeld as appropriated to his archdeaconry (p. 320). It would seem, therefore, that the Priory of Carlisle had surrendered its joint interest in the premises to the bishop, and the latter had made an appropriation of the whole to the archdeaconry.

In November, 1292, the king sought to recover the advowson of Salkeld (wrongly described in the pleadings as "Parva Salkeld"), and the bishop and Master Richard de Wytebi, archdeacon, were made defendants. Counsel for the crown stated that Henry, *proavus* of Edward I., was seised of the advowson as of fee, and presented Roger, his clerk, who was instituted. The defendants produced the king's charter of 1236–7, and the archdeacon pleaded that he was *persona impersonata* by collation of the bishop. Counsel for the crown then alleged that Henry III., had, since the date of the charter, presented his clerk, Martin de Sancta Cruce, but the jury found for the defendants (*Placita de quo waranto*, p. 116).

From that period, the archdeacon of Carlisle for the time being was rector of Salkeld. A list of archdeacons is furnished in these *Transactions*, N.S. xi., p. 93).

Pardon was granted, on October 4th, 1306, to John de Castre, for the death of John de Salkeld, but the latter is perhaps identical with John of Old Salkeld (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 34 Edward I., p. 469).

A stone effigy, representing Thomas de Caldbeck, archdeacon of Carlisle, vested for mass, reposes in the church, but does not occupy its original position (see illustration, these *Transactions*, O.S. xv., p. 453). He was collated archdeacon on June 27th, 1318. William de

Kendal was rector in February, 1323 (*Halton Reg.*, ii., p. 225). He was cited in 1337, to show cause why he held both the living and the archdeaconry without dispensation (Nicolson and Burn, ii., p. 307).

Master William de Routhbury, archdeacon of Carlisle, by will proved May 18th, 1364, desired burial in the churchyard of Salkeld, and gave legacies for repair of the chancel (*Test. Karl.*, edit. Ferguson, p. 74).

The church, dedicated to St. Cuthbert, is an ancient edifice, but it is generally believed that the massive pele tower, attached to it, was not built until after the period covered by this paper.

Scotby.

The manor is separated from Wetheral by the rivulet known as "Scotby beck," or "Pow Maughan beck." The statement that Uchtred,* son of Liulf, gave the mill of Scotby to the abbey of St. Mary, York (Dugdale, *Mon.*, iii., p. 550) is incredible, because Scotby mill was ever afterward parcel of the royal desmesne. There is reason to suppose that Uchtred was Ranulf Meschin's feoffee of Scotby, and that his gift to the abbey was merely a sum of money, payable out of the rent of the mill. David, king of Scotland, reigned over Cumberland from 1136 until his death, at Carlisle, in 1153, and by charter, witnessed at that city, granted to St. Mary of Wetheral and the monks of that place "one mark of silver *per annum* out of the rent of my mill of Scotby" and tithe of the vill of Scotby, as given to them *ab antiquo* (Dugdale, *Mon.*, iii., p. 584). The charter seems to confirm to the local cell of the abbey gifts previously made by Uchtred and another benefactor unnamed, probably Ranulf Meschin. Athelwold, or Adelulf, first bishop of Carlisle, 1133—56, confirmed to the abbey of St. Mary, York, and to its use all the tithes of Scotby (*Wetherhal*, p. 45). At pleas of the forest in 1168,

* His father was murdered about 1080 (Roger de Hoveden, Rolls edition, i., p. 134).

half a mark was rendered for "Scottebi Regis," and the vill paid tallage in 1187 (*Pipe Rolls*).

Towards the close of the century (1181—91) the prior of Carlisle, in consideration of half a mark of silver *per annum*, relinquished to the abbey of St. Mary, York, and to its monks of Wetheral any claim he might have to tithe of the field of Scotby (*Wetherhal*, p. 69). That was probably his roving claim to tithe of all assarts made within the king's forest. The men of Scotby paid "tallage of the king's demesne" in 1195, and, in 1201, they were required to render to King John a new rent in addition to the "ancient farm" (*Pipe Rolls*). In 1203, the vill of "Schortebi" owed a mark for an offence of *vert*; and in 1212, 30s. for the price of 15 beasts (*ibid.*).

The king's men of "Shoteby" were allowed in 1236 such reasonable estovers of husbot and heybot in Inglewood forest as they had been accustomed to take (*Cal. Close Rolls*, 20 Henry III., p. 292). After that, Alexander II. became tenant-in-chief of the manor. In 1286–7, the farm of its mill and brewery produced £6 15s. 4d. (*Hist. Doc. Scot., edit.* Stevenson, i., p. 27). In 1293, it is described as a "hamlet" appendant to the capital manors of Sowerby and Penrith (Rymer, *Foedera*, i., p. 792).

Scotby formed part of Wetheral parish until 1855, when it was made a separate ecclesiastical district.

Sowerby.

The place seems to derive its more distinctive epithet "Castle Sowerby" from the former existence there of an ancient earthwork (Hutchinson., i., p. 520). One naturally expects to find traces of Anglian *tuns* in Inglewood forest. Henry II.'s pipe rolls refer, on several occasions, to *Castellum de Sourebi*. But the Final Concord, made in 1237, between Henry III. and the king of Scotland, expressly provided that the land to be assigned to the latter should not include any vill containing a castle (Rymer, *Foedera*, i., p. 233), so there was not then any place of

strength at Sowerby. Again, the perambulation of Inglewood forest, made in the summer of 1300, traces its boundary *per magnum iter de Sourbye usque Stanewath subter castellarium de Sourbye* (Nicolson and Burn, ii., p. 523). There the epithet is certainly a traditional name applied to the site of a reputed castle.

The church and Castlehow (the supposed earthwork) occupy the verge of the modern parish. Around them grew the ring of assarts, wrung from the forest, which marked the limit for the time being of Sowerby. According to the *Chronicon Cumbriae*, Ranulf Meschin gave Sowerby, Carlatton and Upperby to Ranulf de Vallibus (brother of Hubert, lord of Gilsland) and, on his departure from Cumberland about 1122, stipulated that all his own feoffees should become tenants *in capite* (Wilson, *St. Bees*, p. 492). The following references to the place occur in the pipe rolls :—

Account is rendered, in 1185, of the issue of Sowerby, after oath made before the justice; and, at the pleas of the forest in 1186, Robert de Vallibus owes rent of Castle Sowerby (*Castellum de Sourebi*) for ten years past.

Some 64 years had elapsed since Ranulf Meschin's departure from Cumberland. Robert de Vallibus was son and heir of Hubert, lord of Gilsland, and therefore nephew of Ranulf de Vallibus, feoffee of Sowerby. But it is hard to believe that Hubert, alleged contemporary of Ranulf Meschin, can be the same person as Hubert, contemporary of Henry II. Robert had been sheriff during a great part of the past ten years, and was probably entitled to Sowerby by right of inheritance.

In 1191, William of Church Sowerby (*Karkeserebi*) was amerced half a mark; and the men of William, clerk of Church Sowerby (*Kyrkesaurebi*) owed three shillings.

In 1195, three shillings were due for the assart of the church of Castle Sowerby (*Castellum de Sourebi*); and Odierna de Sowerby owed half a mark because she with-

drew herself. The value of the manor had increased in 1200, because Geoffrey fitz Peter had placed some stock there. The said Geoffrey, earl of Essex, was one of King John's barons and died in 1213 (Matthew Paris, *Hist. Anglorum*, Rolls edition, ii., p.144).

In 1202, William the parson and the vill of Church Sowerby (*Kirke Soresbi*) owed a mark for a quittance, and Waldeve de Sowerby 20s. for the same. In 1210, Sowerby was in farm ; and the vill paid 100s. in 1213 for the scutage of Ireland. Alan de Caldbeck and his companions owed 20 marks, in the same year, for leave to assart the wood of " Sourebilith " ;* and the vill paid tallage in 1214.

On January 28th, 1213–14, William, rector of the church of Sowerby, had resigned, and Lodovic de Rockingham, clerk, had letters of presentation to the church of the king's gift (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 15 John, p. 109) ; and on January 15th, 1214–15, the king granted to Robert de Ros the manors of Sowerby, Carlatton and Upperby, until he should have recovered his land in Normandy (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 16 John, p. 128). The *Testa de Nevill* states that the vill of Sowerby, an escheat of the crown, was held of King John by dominus Robert de Ros ; and the church was held of the same king's gift by Lodovic, the clerk. The sheriff was commanded, in 1218, to give Robert de Ros full seisin of the said three manors, and not to molest Robert and his men (*Cal. Close Rolls*, 2 Henry III., p. 366).

It was again directed, in February, 1224-5, that Robert should have seisin of the same, according to the tenor of King John's letters patent (*ibid.*, 9 Henry III., p. 15). He died in 1226-7, and was succeeded by his son, Robert de Ros (*Wetherhal*, p. 100). Robert was allowed, in 1227, to take such aid of the men of Sowerby and Carlatton as the king took of his own demesne (*Cal. Close Rolls*, 11 Henry III., p. 197) and, in 1232, to retain the purpresture, which

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* *cf.* Ainstapillith.

he had made in the forest at Sowerby (*ibid.*, 16 Henry III., p. 24).

On February 17th, 1236-7, the king presented John le Franceys (*Francigen'*) to the church of "Castelsourebi" (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 21 Henry III., p.175); and, on September 28th following, informed the bishop that he had given the next presentation to Robert de Ros, and desired him to admit Robert's presentee; William de Nottingham, for that turn (*ibid.*, p. 197). In consequence of arrangements with the king of Scotland, Robert de Ros was required, in October, 1237, to surrender Sowerby, Carlatton and Upperby, held *in baillio regis* (*ibid.*, p. 199); but was allowed to retain the crops which he had sown (*ibid.*, 22 Henry III., p. 226).

The *rogus* in Sowerby excepted from the conveyance of 1242 to the king of Scotland was perhaps a charcoal factory or a lime-kiln (*Cal. Charter Rolls*, 26 Henry III., p. 268).

In 1257, Alexander III. had given Sowerby to his consort, Margaret the king's daughter, for her *camera*, to hold at his will, and the gift was ratified (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 41 Henry III., p. 548). Gilbert de Halteclo held some land at Sowerby, in 1260, as undertenant of the queen of Scotland (*Cal. inq. p. m.*, 45 Henry III., p. 140). The king of England, in 1263, gave Margaret the wood of Sowerby, quit of regard, and liberty to take estover therein without livery and view of the foresters; provided she kept it in her own hands and did not waste, sell or destroy it (*ibid.*, 47 Henry III., p. 252).

Master Richard de Wytton was parson of Sowerby in November, 1288 (*Cal. Close Rolls*, 17 Edward I., p. 29). At Carlisle assizes, 1292, it was recorded that the manor had by the death of Alexander III. escheated to Edward I., and the church, a pertinent of that manor and worth 100 marks *per annum*, was in the king's gift. Master Richard

de Wytton still held it by gift of the late king of Scotland (*Hist. Doc. Scot.*, edit. Stevenson, i., p. 359).

On April 20th, 1294, Master Richard de Wytton, lately rector, had accepted the living of Hawick, in the diocese of Glasgow, and John de Balliol, king of Scotland, by letters patent of that date addressed to the bishop of Carlisle, presented Master William de Londors, clerk, to the church of Sowerby thus vacant, and desired that he might be instituted rector (*Halton Register*, i., p. 8); and, on June 14th following, Anthony, bishop of Durham, having acquired the advowson by gift of John de Balliol, presented Dominus John de Langton, chancellor of England, to the living described as vacant (*ibid.*, p. 14). Neither of those presentees appears to have been inducted.

On November 20th, 1295, custody of sequestration made in the church of Sowerby was given to Dominus Henry de Rye, sub-deacon, presented by Anthony, bishop of Durham, "true patron." The bishop of Carlisle directed that Henry should be inducted by proxy, and appointed Simon de Gopeshull, clerk, to act as the presentee's proctor and obtain corporal possession of the church (*ibid.*, p. 56).

Geoffrey, son of Geoffrey de Sebergham, was an undertenant, at Sowerby, of the bishop of Durham in 1297 (*Cal. inq. p. m.*, 26 Edward I., p. 341).

On August 27th, 1300, the bishop of Durham presented Dominus Henry de Rither, sub-deacon. The bishop of Carlisle promised that, if the presentee obtained from the apostolic see dispensation in regard to plurality of benefices and was fit to receive canonical institution after Martinmas, 1301, he would institute him rector, and gave him leave of absence for three years (*Halton Register*, i., p. 129).

On November 26th, 1303, the said Simon de Gopeshull, having been outlawed for non-appearance before the justices of the bench, in a plea by Henry, parson of

"Castel Sourby," that he should render account for the period during which he was Henry's bailiff there, was pardoned (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 32 Edward I., p. 203). Adam de Crokedayk held 50 acres at "Castle Sowerby" in 1304, as the bishop of Durham's under-tenant (*Cal. inq. p. m.*, 33 Edward I., p. 212). Edward I. deprived John de Balliol and his assignee, Anthony, bishop of Durham, of all interest in the manor and advowson of Sowerby (*Rot. Parl.*, i., p. 206), and, out of devotion to the glorious name of Mary: and to the relics of Blessed Thomas, Martyr, and other saints in the church of St. Mary, Carlisle: and in order to relieve the loss which the prior and convent of Carlisle had sustained by invasion of the Scots, issued letters patent on April 4th, 1307, granting to them the advowson of the church of Sowerby, so that when it fell vacant, they might appropriate the same to their own use for ever (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 35 Edward I., p. 516). On April 23rd following, the bishop ordained that, upon the death of the then rector, Henry de Rither, the Prior and Convent should be at liberty to present a suitable canon of their house, as vicar, such vicar to reside at Sowerby and serve the church by a secular priest (*Halton Register*, i., p. 277). Henry de Rither died in the summer of 1309, and, on July 16th, Anthony, bishop of Durham, then Patriarch of Jerusalem, still claiming to be patron, presented Dominus John de Jargoho, chaplain, as rector (*ibid.*, p. 324). He was not instituted, for, on August 3rd, 1309, the bishop of Carlisle, with the king's approval and in accordance with what he had already ordained, granted the church of Sowerby, vacant by the death of Henry de Rither, unto and to the use of the Prior and Convent, and instituted that body as rector (*ibid.*, p. 323). Dominus Alan de Frisington, canon, presented by the Prior and Convent, "true patron," was instituted on September 7th, as first vicar of Sowerby (*ibid.*, p. 325).

The above account is interesting as showing the exact process by which appropriation of a benefice was effected.

On March 3rd, 1311—12, Brother Alan de Frisington had resigned and Brother John de Schilton was instituted vicar (*ibid.*, ii., p. 73).

Robert de Barton, king's clerk, bailiff of Sowerby, was ordered, in 1312, to audit accounts of the reeve of the manor, from the time when it had been in the hands of Piers de Gaveston, earl of Cornwall (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 5 Edward II., p. 416).

The king's mill was swept away by a great flood in 1314 (*Cal. Close Rolls*, 7 Edward II., p. 56).

John de Carlisle resigned the living in 1334, and Canon Richard de Wilford was instituted as vicar (Nicholson and Burn). He died in 1338, and Canon Patrick Culwen was instituted in his place. Upon the latter's death in 1360, Canon John de Penrith became vicar (*ibid.*).

Nicholas de Motherby, of Sowerby, by will proved October 4th, 1362, desired to be buried in the "church of St. Kentigern of Sowerby," and bequeathed to the high altar for tithes forgotten one stott (bullock); to the light of Blessed Mary, in the same church, one ox; to the vaulted chapel (*ad le vaute*) of Blessed Mary and to the service (*operi*) of the Holy Cross in the same church pecuniary legacies (*Test. Karl.*, p. 70).

In 1363, the king gave to his tenants of Sowerby, "ancient demesne of the crown," such common of pasture for all animals, in Inglewood forest for ever, as the prior of Carlisle and William English (Lengleys) had there (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 37 Edward III., p. 414). But, in 1375, Sowerby had been committed to the keeping of Thomas, bishop of Carlisle. Tenants of purprestures, formerly arrented before the steward of the manor, were depasturing the waste and grazing land against the will of the keeper and contrary to custom; felling the woods and claiming housebote and haybote therein as pertinents of

their purprestures; and taking the same by view of a forester wrongfully elected by themselves and another appointed by the king's ministers.

The foresters claimed as their "fee" all bark of trees felled or blown down. The tenants refused to elect the reeve, usually elected by them to collect the king's farm of the manor, unless the keeper paid him a yearly fee of two marks; and claimed all trees blown down by the wind. The king directed that an enquiry should be made concerning the customs of the manor (*ibid.*, 49 Edward III., p. 150).

Thomas Denton's *MS.*, written in 1688 and since lost, furnished the instructive information that Castle Sowerby was formerly parcel of the parish of St. Mary, Carlisle (Lysons, *Cumberland*, p. 155).

ART. XII.—*Langwathby and Penrith.* By T. H. B. GRAHAM, M.A.

Communicated at Carlisle, September 13th, 1921.

THIS concludes the account of the six manors of Cumberland sometime held *in capite* by the King of Scotland. The arrangement was a make-shift and did little good to anybody concerned in it. Langwathby soon came to be regarded as a pertinent of Penrith. The castle built at Penrith in later times became the *caput* of the six manors, sometimes collectively styled the "honour of Penrith." For instance, a tenement in Scotby manor is described as parcel of that honour (these *Transactions*, N.S. XIV., p. 77).

LANGWATHBY.

Langwathby, commonly called Langanby, forms part of what John Denton terms the "great tract of land on the east side of the river Eden," but its history differs from that of the other manors comprised in that tract. In 1159, Henry, son of Swane, was tenant-in-chief of £10 of land at Langwadebi and Edenhal, and received from Henry II. £10 10s. 9d. in corn from Langwadebi and was pardoned by writ £2 14s. 2d. in money. During the twelve following years, his name occurs regularly in the pipe rolls. But in 1172, the sheriff renders account of Langwadebi, "after it returned into the king's hand," and it may be inferred that Henry, son of Swane, had died in the meantime without issue. The manor remained in the king's hand for a very long period. The sheriff accounted in 1187, under the heading "tallage of the king's demesne" for the *donum* of Langwadebi; in 1190, for nouthegeld of the old "farm," which remained upon the waste of Langwadebi; in 1195, Richard I.'s

reign, for the *donum* paid by the men of the manor; in 1197, for tallage made in the past year upon the king's demesne there (*Pipe Roll*); and in 1201, John's reign, for one *chascur*, which the men of Langwadebi owed, in order that they might have the vill in their own hands, at the ancient farm, the cornage pertaining to it and 60s in addition (V.H.C., i., 388). Further account is rendered in 1210, under the heading "pleas of the forest," of 20s from the vill of Lauradebi" and of 3 marks fine from "Languadebi"; and, in 1214, of tallage of the same (*Pipe Roll*).

It was ordered, in 1225, that the king's men of Languadebi should have timber from Inglewood forest, for building their houses, as they had in King John's time, before the war with the barons (*Cal. Close Rolls*, 9 Henry III., p. 48).

The men of "Langwardby" were pardoned half the tallage due from them in 1227 (*ibid.*, 12 Henry III., p.1).

The foregoing records show that Langwathby lay in Inglewood forest and was demesne of the king. It was one of the six royal manors granted by Henry III., on April 22nd, 1242, to Alexander II. of Scotland and "his heirs, kings of Scotland," to be held of the king of England by homage and fealty (*Cal. Doc. Scot.*, i., p. 286). Seisin was delivered to the bishop of Glasgow and Henry de Balliol on behalf of the Scottish king (*ibid.*, p. 287). Account is rendered, at that period, of a sum in default of cornage of the vill of Langwathby, which it used to pay after inquisition, because the manor had been assigned to the king of Scotland (*ibid.*, p. 284). Alexander II. died in 1249, and the pipe roll of the following year accounts for the profits of the land since his death:—farm of the manor of Langwathby £50; farm of the mill £10 (*ibid.*, p. 333). At assizes held on November 3rd, 1278, the king's writ commanded the justices in eyre to maintain and defend his brother and liege Alexander III.

and his men of Langwathby in their liberties under the charter of the king's father (*ibid.*, ii., p. 33), and the jury returned a verdict that the six manors were in Henry III.'s hand as a "pertinent of his castle of Carlisle," and that Alexander III. then held them by gift of Henry III., as his father had done previously (p. 36). Alexander III. died in March, 1285-6, and the pipe roll of 1287-8 shows that Langwathby was in Edward I.'s hand and let to farm, producing rent of tenants of the manor together with meadow and demesne land £34 1s. 0d.; rent of water-mill and brewery £8 6s. 8d.; sale of willows 3s. and pannage of swine 5s. 11½d. (*Hist. Doc. Scot.*, edit. Stevenson, i., p. 38). It was assigned temporarily, in 1290, to Anthony Bek, bishop of Durham (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 18 Edward I., p. 386), but a jury's verdict records that, in 1292, the manor of Langwathby, by the death of Alexander III., who married Margaret, sister of Edward I., was an escheat in the hand of that king (Stevenson, i., p. 356). John de Balliol received seisin of the six manors in 1293 (Rymer, *Foedera*, i., p. 792), but he forfeited them for rebellion, and by his resignation of the Scottish crown, in 1296, precluded himself from ever resuming possession of the premises. In 1310, Edward II. granted the vills of Penrith and Langwathby "in the manor of Penrith" to John *Fitz* Marmaduke for life, reserving return of writs, waifs and other liberties of the manor (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 3 Edward II., p. 226).

The subsequent history of the manor of Langwathby is bound up with that of Carlatton (these *Transactions*, N.S. XX., p. 19).

Langwathby is not an ancient parish, because it is not expressly referred to in any of the ecclesiastical *valors*. Nicolson and Burn suppose (ii., 448) that it was formerly part of Edenhal parish, but their theory is not supported by the circumstances. It is evident that Langwathby was originally parcel of the king's forest and therefore

extra-parochial. All tithe arising from it would, in such case, be due to the Prior of Carlisle, whose ancient title to tithe of extra-parochial assarts in Inglewood forest was recognised by Edward I. (Nicolson and Burn, ii., 546), and the chapel, erected there by some unknown benefactor, would perhaps (like that of Hesket-in-the-forest) be regarded as situate in the parish of St. Mary, Carlisle.

The *Testa de Nevill* specifies churches in King John's gift at four out of the six royal manors, but is silent as to Langwathby. The reservation of advowsons, contained in the grant of 1242 to the King of Scotland, is merely a general one. The Cumberland Assize Roll, 1292, does not notice any chapel at Langwathby (Stevenson, i., p. 359), but assuming, for the sake of argument, that it was in existence and had been already appropriated to the Priory of Carlisle, such chapel, being held in mortmain, would not be noticed.

On February 17th, 1304-5, John, bishop of Carlisle, assigned to Adam, late prior of Carlisle, tithes of sheaves in Langwathby, "which we know have been appropriated in your time to your priory," as a provision on his retirement from office (*Halton Register*, edit. Thompson, i., 225).

Bishop Welton, at his visitation of the Priory of Carlisle in 1352, certified that "the church of Edenhal with the chapel of Langwathby" had been legally appropriated by that house (Nicolson and Burn, ii., p. 302).

John Marshall, perpetual vicar of Edenhal, whose will was proved August 24th, 1362, gave legacies for the benefit (*ad cooperacionem*) of the chapel of Langwathby and for a chalice for the same chapel (*Test. Karl.*, edit. Ferguson, p. 64).

Mention of the chapel occurs in 1368, when the Prior and Convent of Carlisle, having procured the profits of the

church of Edenhal and chapel of Langwathby to be appropriated to themselves, referred the allowance for the supply of both the said cures to be settled by Bishop Appleby, and empowered their sub-prior to be their proctor to consent to the same (Nicolson and Burn, ii., 413). Since that period, Langwathby has been served by the vicar for the time being of Edenhal. The existing church is said to be dedicated to St. Peter. One of its two bells bears the inscription:—*Ave Maria, gracia plena. In honore S. Johas.* The lettering is Lombardic; there is no initial cross or maker's stamp; the stops consist of two roundlets; the letters A and L are reversed; M, N, P and R are upside down; E in *Ave* is placed sideways on its back and H is the Roman character.

The bell may be of early sixteenth century workmanship (these *Transactions*,o.s. xiii., p. 210), and its inscription may point to a previous structure, dedicated to St. John and superseded by the present church.

The *Valor Ecclesiasticus* of Henry VIII. states that the Prior of Carlisle had the rectory of the parish of St. Mary, Carlisle, and its pertinents; tithes of Inglewood pertaining to the same; the rectory of St. Cuthbert, Carlisle, and its pertinents; tithe of sheaves in Edenhal; tithe grain of Langwathby and land in Edenhal and Langwathby (Vol. v., pp. 274-5). Langwathby chapel is not noticed, but is probably included in the valuation of Edenhal (Nicolson and Burn, ii., 412). Jefferson identifies it (*Leath Ward*, p. 203) with the chantry of Blessed Mary of Edenhal, mentioned in the same *Valor* (p. 288), but the chantry was obviously situate in Edenhal parish.

After the dissolution of the Priory, the Dean and Chapter became patrons of both livings, and Langwathby (like Hesket) gradually obtained the reputation of being a parish. A presentment dated October 1st, 1650, states that it was not a chapel but had always been a church, as

appears by a record of Elizabeth's reign (these *Transactions*, O.S. xiii., p. 212).

The church was rebuilt, at the cost of the parishioners, in 1718. Ecton calls it "Long Wathby, St. Peter, chapel to Edenhall" (*Thesaurus*, 1763, p. 563). His description is not correct, because Nicolson and Burn, writing in 1777, allege that it is styled a vicarage in the Visitation Rolls, and that churchwardens were always sworn for the "parish of Langwathby" (ii., 448). It is therefore a separate benefice held from time immemorial in conjunction with that of Edenhal.

Records occasionally mention persons, who took their surname from the place.

Agnes de Langwathby was killed in Westmorland by misadventure in 1269 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 54 Henry III., p. 400). Alice de Langwathby had a house at Newton Reigny in 1276 (*Cal. Close Rolls*, 5 Edward I., p. 418).

In 1294, there was mainprize by Richard de Langwathby, of Westmorland, that Adam de Crokedayk, knight, and Master William de Ireby, executors of Robert de Bruce's will, should discharge his debts due to the king (*Cal. Doc. Scot.*, ii., p. 164).

In 1296, Adam de Crokedayk presented a clerk named Richard de Langwathby to the living of Addingham, but he was not instituted (*Halton Register*, i., 95).

Thomas de Langwathby was ordained acolite on March 10th, 1312–13 (*ibid.*, ii., 73).

William de Langwathby was appointed surveyor of weights and measures for Cumberland and Westmorland, in 1344 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 18 Edward III., p. 282). sheriff of Westmorland and Keeper of Appleby castle in 1345 (*Cal. Fine Rolls*, 19 Edward III., p. 412). Isabella de Stapleton, of Edenhal, by will proved in 1362, bequeathed a psalter to dominus Richard de Langwathby (*Test. Karl.*, edit. Ferguson, p. 47).

He was probably chaplain of Langwathby. The

chapelry was permanently added to the cure of Edenhal six years later (*supra*). The village and holm are shown on the eighteenth century map, reproduced in these *Transactions*, N.S. xiii., p. 28. The course of the Eden has somewhat shifted (*ibid.*, p. 9). The water-mill is turned by the Briggle beck. The waste of the manor, known as "Langwathby moor," lay south of the village, and was occasionally used as a racecourse during the reigns of Elizabeth and James I. The "race at Langanby" is referred to in a letter dated April 13th, 1585, and in Lord William Howard's *Household Book*, 1612 (these *Transactions*, O.S. xii., p. 190). Hutchinson describes the roads as being very bad in winter, and the bridge over the Eden was not built until 1686. The village is believed to derive its name from a "wath," or ford, at the spot. Nicolson and Burn cite (ii., p. 397) the assize roll of 6 Edward I. (1277-8) in which the place-name is spelt "Langwaldeofby," but that is a clerical error.

Penrith.

Penrith, though situate near the junction of great roads, cut by the Romans through the primaeval forest, was not a position of strategic value to them, for that people posted its garrisons at Brougham Castle (*Brocavum*), which lies a mile and a half south-east of the parish church, and at Plumpton Wall (*Voreda*) situate four miles north-west of the same point. Its Norman overlord was probably Henry I.'s vassal and plenipotentiary, Ranulf Meschin, who appears to have fixed his residence at Appleby (Prescott, *Wetherhal*, p. 12).

Ranulf Meschin founded Wetheral Priory early in the twelfth century, and Eliphe de "Penrith" witnessed the foundation charter (*ibid.*, p. 5); and, towards the end of the same century, Norman de "Penereth" attested one of the title deeds of that house (*ibid.*, p. 149). The place-name was usually spelt *Penred*, but, in local speech, there is a tendency to aspirate dental consonants.

Henry I. gave the church of Penred to the bishopric of Carlisle, for its own use, at its foundation, that is to say in 1133 (see *Cal. Close Rolls*, 3 Henry III., p. 405 and *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, of the same year, p. 210). The manor is styled "Penred Regis" in 1167, being royal demesne (*Pipe Roll*); and was doubtless one of the four units which, in 1169, paid an aid to marry Henry II.'s daughter.

In 1185, the vill gave two marks for a perambulation of its pasture and, in 1187, paid "tallage of the king's demesne." Gamel de Penred owed twelve pence, in 1189, for an offence of vert. In 1201, King John imposed an additional rent of £20, to be extracted from four manors of the group, namely: Penrith, Langwathby, Salkeld and Scotby. The vill of Penred was amerced for a transgression in 1202 and paid tallage in 1214 (*Pipe Rolls*).

On November 17th, 1214, the see of Carlisle was void, and the king, by letters patent addressed to the "bishop of Carlisle," presented Hugh Mark, clerk, to the vacant living of Penred (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 15 John, p. 115); and, on May 27th, 1215, by similar letters directed to the archdeacon of Richmond and to the Official of Carlisle, presented Radulf de Nevill, Dean of Lichfield, to the same living (*ibid.*, 16 John, p. 142).

The *Testa de Nevill* mentions the church of Penred, "which Ralf de Nevill holds of King John's gift," and the serjeanty of Baldwin de Penred, "for which he must carry the king's writs in the county at the sheriff's order." Portions of the serjeanty had been alienated to Bricius de Penred, William son of Agnes, and Penrith church. Richard, son and heir of Baldwin, made thence a fine of nine shillings a year, in order that the alienees might answer to Baldwin (*sic*) for their respective portions, and that all three might do service of one-twentieth part of a knight's fee. A later entry in the same document states that the serjeanty of Bricius (*sic*) de Penred had

been changed to military service, namely one-twentieth of a knight's fee.

On October 16th, 1222, the king commanded that a market should be held "in our manor of Penred, once a week on Wednesday, and a fair, once a year, from the Vigil of Pentecost until Monday after the feast of Holy Trinity" (*Cal. Close Rolls*, 6 Henry III., p. 513).

On November 3rd, 1222, the see of Carlisle was void and the bishopric was in the king's hand. Walter de Cantilupe had letters of presentation by the king to the vacant living of Penred (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 7 Henry III., p. 350). Nobody moved in the matter, for similar letters were directed, on July 14th, 1223, to the Official of the diocese (*ibid.*, p. 377) and, on August 20th, to the archbishop of York and archdeacon of Carlisle, with a complaint that the Official had not admitted the king's presentee (*ibid.*, p. 382). After a whole year's delay, Walter de Cantilupe had letters dated November 3rd, 1223, and addressed to the "elect of Carlisle" (bishop Walter Malclerk) and was doubtless instituted vicar of the parish (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 8 Henry III., p. 413).

In May, 1223, the king ordered that men of the vill of Penred, who wished to rebuild their burgages, should be supplied with ten oak trees from the forest (*Cal. Close Rolls*, 7 Henry III., p. 544).

On October 27th, 1237, the king ordered Thomas de Multon and others to extend (*i.e.* value) royal demesne land in Northumberland and Cumberland, which had not a castle, to the amount of £200 a year, to be assigned to the King of Scotland, but he expressly directed them to exclude from the extent his manor of Penred and forest of Cumberland, as it was never his intention that they should be included (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 21 Henry III., p. 199).

In order to facilitate matters, he took the royal manors of Sowerby, Carlatton and Upperby from Robert de Ros, and, in May, 1238, gave him Penrith in exchange, promis-

ing that, if he was eventually obliged to include it in the extent, he would compensate Robert (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 22 Henry III., p. 219).

The sheriff rendered an account of the issues of Penrith, from Michaelmas, 1237, until May 5th, 1238, when he delivered the manor by the king's writ to Robert de Ros. It amounted to £8 11s. 0d., namely, 24 skeps of oatmeal and 18 skeps of barley malt, being the rent paid for 120 acres of demesne land ; £1 14s. 6d. for 69 bovates of land ; and one shilling for a marsh (*Cal. Doc. Scot.*, i., p. 252). But, in April, 1242, it became necessary to sacrifice Penred, and the king ordered the sheriff to extend in writing £60 of land in that manor, and, when the king had satisfied himself that the extent was in order, to give seisin to the King of Scotland of those 60 librates of land (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 26 Henry III., p. 294).

On September 5th, 1255, Henry III. confirmed to the abbey of Holm Cultram land called "St. Wilfred's Holm," on the bank of the Eamont, given by Bricius de Penred, the serjeant (Dugdale, *Mon.*, v., p. 599).

The King of Scotland was entitled, in 1247, to the bakehouse (*furnus*) of Penrith (*Cal. Doc. Scot.*, i., p. 319), and his bailiffs, in 1270, had the return of all sheriff's writs relating to the manor (*ibid.*, p. 525).

Simon was vicar of Penrith about the middle of the 13th century (*Coll. Top. et Gen.* iii., 398).

John de Capella obtained licence, in 1291, to alienate in mortmain to the prior and friars of the order of St. Augustine at Newcastle-on-Tyne a messuage in Penrith (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 19 Edward I., p. 441).

William and Adam, sons of Bricius de Penreth, are mentioned in September, 1314 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 8 Edward II., p. 234).

The king's bailiff was ordered, in May, 1314, to spend £20 out of the king's farm upon rebuilding two mills, two bakehouses and a prison at Penrith, lately destroyed

by the Scots (*Cal. Close Rolls*, 7 Edward II., p. 56), and, in November, 1318, to restore the king's demesne to the men, who used to hold it at the old rent of 12d. an acre, and who left it uncultivated, when the rent was raised to 20d. an acre (*ibid.*, 12 Edward II., p. 29).

On July 2nd, 1318, the living of Penrith was vacant by the death of dominus Thomas de Kirkoswald, and dominus Alan de Horncastle, chaplain, was collated and instituted perpetual vicar by John, Bishop of Carlisle (*Halton Register*, edit. Thompson, ii., p. 170).

John de Penreth, knighted by Edward II., had licence, in November, 1318, to grant two acres to the Austin Friars, for the enlargement of their dwellinghouse at Penrith (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 12 Edward II., p. 225).

Sir John de Penzret (*sic*) of Cumberland bore, at that period, *gules*, a bend battely *argent* (Foster, *Feudal Coats*).

On April 15th, 1323, Alan de Horncastle had resigned, and dominus William de Kirkby, chaplain, was collated and instituted by the bishop to the vicarage (*Halton Register*, ii., p. 224).

On February 18th, 1324-5, Peter de Wormynton had letters of presentation to the vicarage of Penrith, in the king's gift, by reason of the late voidance of the see of Carlisle, and the same were directed to "W., bishop elect and confirmed,"* or, in case of his absence abroad, to his vicar-general (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 18 Edward II., p. 96). The keeper of the bishopric in the late king's hand was ordered, in 1328, to deliver the fruits and obventions of the appropriated church of Penrith to the archbishop of York, then keeper of the spiritualities, in accordance with an agreement made in Parliament (*Cal. Close Rolls*, 2 Edward III., p. 305).

The king's bakehouses at Penrith were repaired out of

* The king confirmed William de Ermyn, Canon of York, as bishop of Carlisle on January 17th, 1324-5, but the Pope gave the bishopric to John de Ross (Nicolson and Burn, ii, p. 264).

the issues of the manor, and were held in 1331 by the bakers at a certain yearly farm (*Cal. Close Rolls*, 5 Edward III., p. 206).

John de Crumbewell, keeper of the forests beyond Trent, had royal licence, in September, 1333, to grant two acres in frank almoin, to further enlarge the dwelling-house of the Austin Friars at Penrith (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 7 Edward III., p. 468).

John, son of Bricius de Penreth, was dead in 1342, leaving a widow, Mariota, and a son and heir, William (*Catalogue of ancient deeds*, vol. iii., p. 399).

John, son of Alan, son of Bricius de Penreth, was pardoned in 1344 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 18 Edward III., p.305).

John, vicar of Penrith, was rural dean of Cumberland in 1355 (Nicolson and Burn, ii., 406).

John de Dunthwaite, vicar of Penrith, was pardoned in 1359 for entering without licence upon land held in chief (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 33 Edward III., p. 274). His estate as vicar was ratified in 1372 (*ibid.*, 46 Edward III., p. 206).

John Marshall, perpetual vicar of Edenhal, died in 1362; directed that he should be buried in the churchyard of St. Andrew of Penrith, and left a legacy to that church (*Test. Karl.*, edit. Ferguson, p. 64). Another testator, in 1369, gave his body to be buried in the church of the Austin Friars at Penrith (*ibid.*, p. 90).

Custody of the manors of Penrith and Sowerby and their members was committed, in 1371-2, to Thomas, Bishop of Carlisle, to hold for 20 years at the rent of £220 (*Rot. Orig. Abbrev.*, vol. ii., p. 314). Camden spells the place-name "Penrith" and adds *vulgo autem Perith dicitur* (*Britannia, edit.* 1587). Later writers notice the same corrupt pronunciation.

Art. XIII.—*Barton Church and Barton Kirke.* By J. H. Martindale, F.R.I.B.A.

Read at the site, July 7th, 1921.

St. Michael's Church, Barton.

OUR Society first visited Barton on the 11th July, 1879, and I am not quite sure whether we have ever been here since, except at a joint visit with the British Archaeological Association in 1908. The late Mr. C. J. Ferguson, at the '79 visit, read a paper on the architectural history of the building (these *Trans.* o.s. iv., Art. xxviii.) and I don't think very much information has been added on the subject since that time, except the references in Mr. Ragg's papers on the de Lancasters (n.s. x., Art. xxi.) indicating the importance of the parish. I may draw attention to the extent of the area of this ancient parish; its boundaries reach to Crosthwaite on the west, Grasmere and Kendal on the south, and Greystoke and Penrith on the north and east. The fact that one of the barons of Kendal obtained a grant for a market here in the reign of King John (1215-6) shows that Barton was the centre of a considerable population six hundred years ago.

The one feature which has made Barton church famous is its tower. Mr. Ferguson thought that this was always a central one. I believe, with the exception of Carlisle Cathedral and Cartmel Priory, there is no other mediæval central tower in the diocese, perfect. Of course, there were central towers to the great monastic churches of Holme Cultram, Lanercost and Calder, but I can't remember any other to a parish church.

A central tower is the natural outcome of the cruciform plan; but in one sense this tower is not central, as the

church never had transepts, north or south, and certainly the tower was free at one time on the south side, as proved by the existing small early window. There are, indeed, examples of Anglo-Saxon churches with central tower at the junction of nave and choir, without transepts, as Barton-on-Humber, a curious coincidence in name. The building, however, dates from the Early Norman period. It is mentioned in the Register of John de Halton in 1303, and also in several of the de Lancaster charters, as a boundary extent.

There can be no doubt that the roofs of the eastern and western portions have been altered at various periods. This appears from the weatherings and other marks on the faces of the tower; but I am not sure that these indications are always conclusive evidence of the contemporary date and existence of the buildings, and I venture to make the following heretical suggestion, namely, that the church originally finished at the tower, thus making it a western tower. The present walls of the nave overlap or enclose the angles of the tower, north, south and west, but there is only one bondstone, near the pulpit.

If my theory is correct, the nave or western extension would be the earliest in date; then the south aisle of the nave, and possibly the south aisle of the choir; then the north aisle of the nave, and finally, the so-called aisles to north of tower and chancel, which have not, and never had, any communication with the tower or chancel, through the north wall. I think the outline of a door may be seen in the north chancel wall, east of the tower, and this may have given access to the upper part of the tower, as at present there is no access to it except by a ladder.

The south aisle of the chancel is most interesting, with its original east window, priest's door, stoup and piscina, and these seem rather to indicate it as a chantry chapel. I believe it is known as the Winder Chapel, and Bishop

Nicolson seems to hint at this when he says the family of Davis of Winder bury in it (*Miscellany Accounts*, 1704, p. 126). The chancel now is about 38 feet in length and 18 feet in width, which Bishop Nicolson calls "vastly large." He mentions several monuments, including a brass, I think on the south side, of William Lancaster, c. 1575, but this is not now to be seen, and also several armorial stones now obliterated. Machell describes them in his day, as being the arms of Arundel, Percy, Lacy, Dacre, Lowther, Lancaster, Strickland, Threlkeld, Machel, Moresby, Orpheur, and Crackenthorpe. I think there is a grave-slab and a fragment of a second, and several matrices of brasses, and floor-slabs to the memory of the family of Wordsworth.

The nave is of three bays, about 42 feet long by 22 feet wide, with one early door on the south, not now *in situ*, but probably removed here when the aisle was built, and a later porch having an armorial shield on the east side and one over the door. The arches of the tower were originally semicircular, about 7 feet span, and these were altered probably at the time when the porch was added, by the removal of the lower portion and jambs, and the insertion of segmental arches, of a wider span—in fact, the full width of the tower. In Bishop Nicolson's account, this space under the tower was a long dark passage, crowded with seats.

The tower is about 22 feet north and south by 24 feet east and west, with walls five feet thick. This longer dimension east and west again militates against its originally being built as a central tower; the transept arches would not be wider than nave and chancel. The triple buttresses at the east end are indications of early date and give the original length of the chancel. Similar buttresses are seen at St. Leonard's, Cleator.

The plate consists of a silver cup, 1749, and a pewter flagon.

Barton Kirke.

This ancient mansion-house has long been known by the name of Barton Kirke, and was well described by the late Dr. Taylor, in a paper read at the visit of the Society in 1879. As we have not been here again for 42 years, I will plead excuse for drawing largely on Dr. Taylor's notes.

The present building dates from the latter part of the 15th century. The block facing west, hatched in the plan (p. 139) with broken lines, is the earliest part and is a specimen of the houses, just under the rank of manor, inhabited by the well-to-do. It was owned apparently by a family of the name of Dawes, and continued in the family for some 300 years until it came to the Hasells of Dalemain.

This early block has some rather peculiar features. The entrance was, I think, always in the porch in the east wing, which seems to have led into a hall, now divided. There is a large projecting chimney-breast on the west, and the remains of mural chambers in it are shown by the external loops. The windows are of several lights and have well-moulded jambs and mullions. The heads have good label moulds. One two-light window has been cut down and forms the present entrance-door to the house on the north side. There is a semicircular stone stair in the angle formed by the two wings. The porch has two storeys, and the old door and ironwork remain. Over the door is the panel stone, set up by Launcelot Dawes, when he extended the east wing, hatched in the plan with horizontal lines, about 1628. He was fellow of Queen's College, Oxford, and vicar of the parish, and although he lived in the family house, he built the old vicarage to the east (hatched with crossed lines), and placed over the entrance-door "L.D. NON MIHI SED SUCCESSORIBUS 1637." The panel over the house door has this: "$^{L}{}^{D}{}_{A}$ NON EST HÆC REQUIES 1628," and also an addition, "$^{T}{}^{D}{}_{E}$ 1693,"

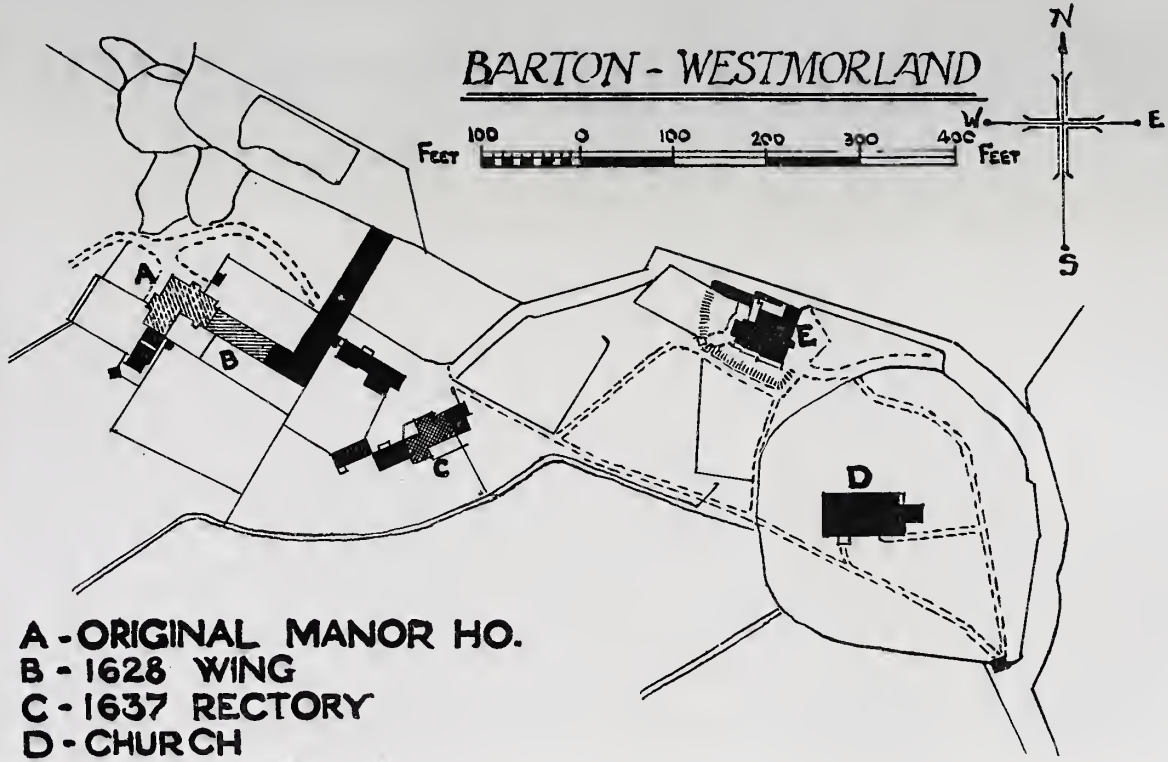
probably by his nephew, Thomas, who succeeded to the estates.

On the first floor was the drawing-room, but I am sorry to see that very little of the fine plaster ceiling, frieze, and beam which Dr. Taylor describes and illustrates, and which was existing then, now remains. Nearly all the divisions on this floor are made out of the old oak panelling.

There was a second storey in the roof and portions of the old gypsum floors remain.

There is an armorial stone over a door in the outbuildings, supposed to be the arms assumed by the Dawes.

I think it is very well we should visit these smaller houses and try to preserve a record of them. This house is about the same period as Bellbridge and Warnell, which we saw two years ago (these *Transactions* N.S. XX., 236—239), but I can't find any trace here of the curtained court-yard and entrance-gate. Are we to attribute this to the greater immunity of Westmorland from our friends from over the Border?



A - ORIGINAL MANOR HO.
B - 1628 WING
C - 1637 RECTORY
D - CHURCH
E - MODERN RECTORY

ART. XIV.—*A note on Brocavum.* By R. G. COLLINGWOOD, M.A., F.S.A., F.S.A. Scot.

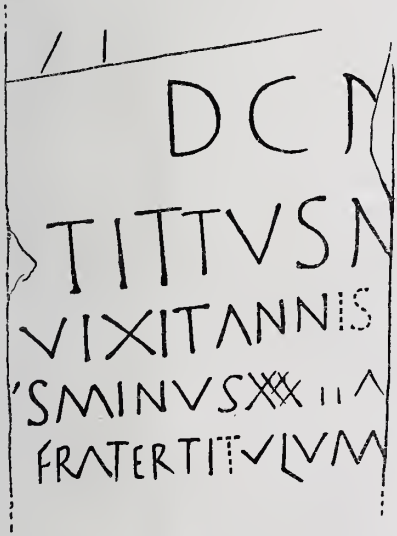
Read at Brougham, July 8th, 1921.

THE fifth Antonine Itinerary gives Brocavum (there is no warrant for the spelling 'Brovacum') as twenty Roman miles from Verterae and twenty-two from Luguvalium; comparison with the second Itinerary makes it about seven miles from Brovonacae on the south and about eight from Voreda on the north. The identification of these five sites as Brough-under-Stainmore, Kirkby Thore, Brougham, Old Penrith and Carlisle is quite certain.

A new importance is given to Brocavum by the valuable paper of Mr. Percival Ross in these *Transactions* N.S. XX, where it is convincingly shown that the road traversing the Lune gorge past Overborough and Low Borrow Bridge, and visible on the fells above Crosby Ravensworth (these *Transactions* N.S. viii–ix, on Ewe Close) runs not, as had been previously believed, to Kirkby Thore, but direct to Brougham. The obvious corollary of this is that the Lune—Brougham—Carlisle road is the original Roman line from Lancashire and Cheshire to the north, and Brougham thus appears as a vital link in what must have been an early and important chain of forts. The old problem as to the route by which Agricola, in A.D. 79, approached the Border may thus be considered as having reached, if not a proved, at least a presumptive solution; for since there was a direct Roman road along the straightest line of advance we can hardly refuse to admit the likelihood of his having laid out and used this road, and according to his custom defended it with forts; and of these forts Brougham must have been one, since no point between Kirkby Lonsdale and Carlisle so obviously required a fort as does the crossing of the Eamont.

The case for an Agricolan origin of Brocavum is strengthened by the fact that the branch-road from Kendal to Ravenglass is now proved by this Society's work at Ambleside, and by the further study of the finds at Hardknot (these *Transactions* N.S. xxi). If a branch from a main road existed before the Hadrianic scheme of fortification was carried out, *a fortiori* the main road, and therefore at least the chief forts on it, existed too.

The visible Roman ramparts, enclosing as they do a fort large enough for a milliary cohort, are doubtless the work of Hadrian's engineers in the years 120—130. But one can hardly doubt that excavation would reveal here, as at Ambleside, a smaller fort, perhaps as much as 45 years older, a relic of the pre-Hadrianic settlement associated with the name of Agricola.



There are several inscriptions, of which I mention one only because I am able to offer a new and independent copy of it. Bruce published it in *Lapid. Sept.* 814, which was copied by Hübner in *Ephemeris Epigraphica* iii., No. 91; but I cannot trace any other publication. I read D C M | TITTVS M... | VIXIT ANN... | PL]VS MINVS XXXII A... | FRATER TITVLVM[POSVIT. In l. 1 the C must be an error; *D*(*is*) *M*(*anibus*) must be intended; but the C is not, as Hübner thought it might be, a leaf-stop misread. In l. 2 Bruce has *Titius*, which may have been intended; in l. 3 he has *Annis*, which was doubtless on the stone, but I

could not see the last two letters ; in l. 4 he has *Pa* at the end ; and in l. 5 *Trulum,* which is not on the stone. The fact that the slab is built into the headway of an upper passage in the keep, out of reach except by climbing and very dark, makes it difficult to read or draw, but I reproduce my drawing for what it is worth. The stone is to the memory of Tittus M... or Titius M..., who lived about 32 years, and it was set up by his brother A... Its special interest lies in the fact that the formula *plus minus,* indicating a contempt of the meticulous reckoning of age customary on Roman tombstones, is a characteristically Christian phrase, and shows, almost with certainty, the presence of a Christian population at Brougham in the late third or fourth century of our era.

The figure is $\frac{1}{8}$ scale.

Art. XV.—*Brougham Castle.* By John F. Curwen, F.S.A., F.R.I.B.A.

Read at the site, July 8th, 1921.

First Epoch, 1174—1189.

As at Brough, so also here, we find a late Norman castle built upon the site of a Roman fort. The great road from Carlisle to York crossed the Eamont by a ford a a little below the modern bridge, and here it was met by a branch road coming by way of Yanwath, and by another road from Low Borough Bridge via Crosby Ravensworth Fell. We can feel pretty certain that the same reason which induced the Roman to select the site, namely, the necessity of guarding the ford at this important junction of the ways, led the Norman, many centuries later, to erect his castle here.

And, if we should try to understand the necessity for the strong chain of castles that continue down from Carlisle to Bowes and beyond, we must realize that this Stainmore road was the only military way at the time when England and Scotland were fighting for sovereignty over the district. With the accession of Henry II. (1154), eighty-eight years after the battle of Hastings, *we* in this district formed a part of the Scottish kingdom, and I take it that the keep of Carlisle, built by King David, was the only castle in Cumberland and Westmorland possessing any kind of defences in masonry—the remaining strongholds being constructed entirely of earth and timber. But when the English king, in 1157, demanded that Malcolm of Scotland should relinquish the territory, he appears to have issued, to those whom he placed in authority along the border, a royal order to erect castles of stone. Although possessed by local magnates they

were to be the property of the crown and the king took command of them on the slightest suspicion of insubordination or on the occasion of hostile invasion. Thus, I infer, were the keeps of Appleby and Brough commenced; but, following instances of which we have record, they would take some ten or fifteen years in the building. One is rather apt to forget the enormous amount of material to be gathered, hauled and worked before such a mass of masonry could be erected. With these chief centres, other purely garrison keeps along the road would be needed as appendages, and hence Pendragon to block the Mallerstang valley and Brougham,* as we have just said, to guard the junction of the ways as well as the Eamont ford.

But, before this time, the under-tenant would probably have a motte and bailey fortress here, and I think that we find signs of it at the south-west corner of the present courtyard, where the outer earthworks are very strong and where the old course of the river Lowther swept beside it. If this is so, the old timber tower would stand and be occupied while the stone keep was in course of construction at the further end of the bailey.

I do not think that this keep was built in 1174, the year that William, the Lion of Scotland, passed through the district to besiege Carlisle and to capture Appleby and Brough. Fantosme's Chronicle † of the event does not mention it, as surely it would have done if there had been a garrison here; so we may conclude that it was not built by Hugh de Morville, whose great estate was forfeited to the crown after the assassination of Thomas à Beckett in 1170. From this date until the year 1204, when King John granted the estate back to Hugh's

* Bruhame, Burgham, Browham and Brougham, as the name was variously written, is pronounced as a monosyllable, the same as Broom.

† *Chronicles of the Wars between the English and the Scots in* 1173 *and* 1174," by Jordan Fantosme (published by Surtees Society, vol. xi).

nephew, Robert de Vipont,* several custodians were in possession ; and, if we may take Bowes† for a guide, it is highly likely that Henry II. took advantage of the interregnum, to cause Brougham Keep to be built, *i.e.* before the year 1189. Indeed it could not have been much later, as, in 1245—in 55 years' time—an inquisition shows that " the walls and roof had gone to decay for the want of repairing the gutters."

Mr. E. Towry Whyte, F.S.A., has written (in *Archaeologia* lviii) the best description of the castle that I know of, and, most courteously, he has lent for our use all his notes and plans. So that with his help and a plan copied more or less from his survey let us endeavour to examine the building. Doubtless, as in most buildings, additions were made constantly, but I shall try to group the works of construction into three epochs, and for brevity as well as for clearness sake shall hope to miss out all minor details of arrangement which can be traced out on the plan.

KEEP.—At first the Keep, 47 feet east and west by 44 feet north and south, with its forebuilding to strengthen the entrance, stood alone—an impregnable mass of masonry surrounded by the deep moat and palisading of the original bailey. On three sides we find the usual broad flat pilasters at the corners, some 12 feet broad by

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* *Pat. Rolls*, 4 John, m. 2.

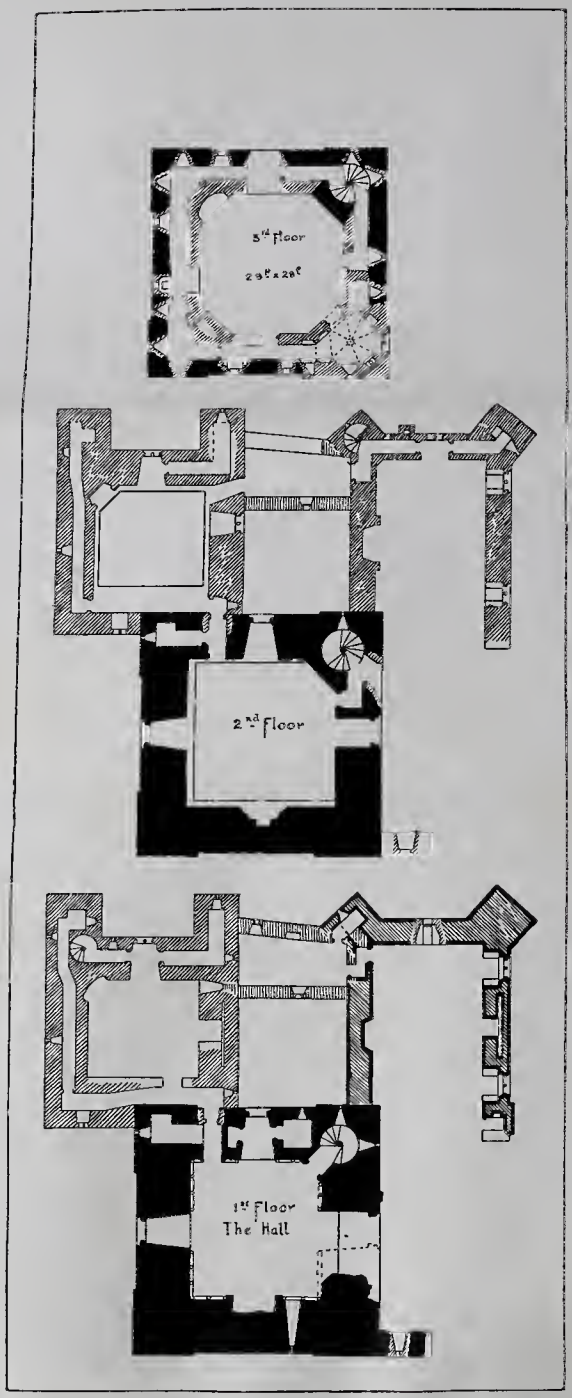
† Bowes was commenced by Conan, Duke of Brittany, about 1166, but on his death, in 1171, his incompleted tower escheated to the crown, with the wardship of Conan's heiress, and Henry II. completed it in 1187. It seems almost unnecessary to point out that medieval writers constantly used such words as *fecit* and *construxit*, " he built," in the sense of *fieri fecit* and *construi fecit*, " he caused to be made " or " to be built." The phrase cannot be extended to mean that Henry II. took control of the work and its execution. After taking general instructions of the lord or *custos operis* the *magister cementariorum*, or master-mason, would design and supervise the work. Such a man would be brought from a distance, being " expert in his art and much commended "; he would be widely versed in the contemporary progress of military architecture as well as in the qualities of building stone—a man who had earned the right to exercise mastery in his craft. The master-carpenter came second in command with almost equal importance, but the master-smiths and plumbers were of inferior rank. Under them were the *operarii* or workmen.

6 inches projection, but on the fourth or east side they were not needed, as the forebuilding stood there. Nothing now remains of this latter building excepting a small portion of the south wall, 5 feet thick, which is seen to be bonded into the angle of the Keep. The upper portion that is not bonded is an addition.

From this forebuilding a flight of stone steps would lead up to the entrance on the first floor level, where a few stones of the arch and label, of Transitional Norman date, are still visible. The doorway on the second floor would open out upon the leads of the forebuilding for defensive purposes. The Oratory, at the south-east corner, which we shall refer to presently, is seen projecting on a moulded course, with two very well carved heads to support the moulding, where it continues beyond the pilaster on the south side. At the parapet level three heavy corbels supported machicolations on each face of the tower.

The ground floor or basement, with walls 11 feet thick, can be entered now through a broken-down loop, but originally the only access would be by the newel stairway leading down from the first or entrance floor. Hutchinson says, in "An Excursion to the Lakes" (1773):—"The lower apartment in the principal tower is still remaining entire, being covered with a vaulted roof of stone consisting of eight arches, which, as they spring from (the angles and the centre of) the side walls, are supported and terminate on a pillar in the centre." If so, it must have been very like the vaulting of the keep at Richmond, but an addition of the 14th century. The appearance of the loops, which splay from 7 feet wide on the inside to only 3 inches wide on the outside, gives one a vivid feeling of the immense strength of the tower.

The first floor was the hall. The great fireplace with its huge flue was in the south wall. Two large windows within round-headed recesses pierce the west and north walls, but unfortunately a considerable portion of the



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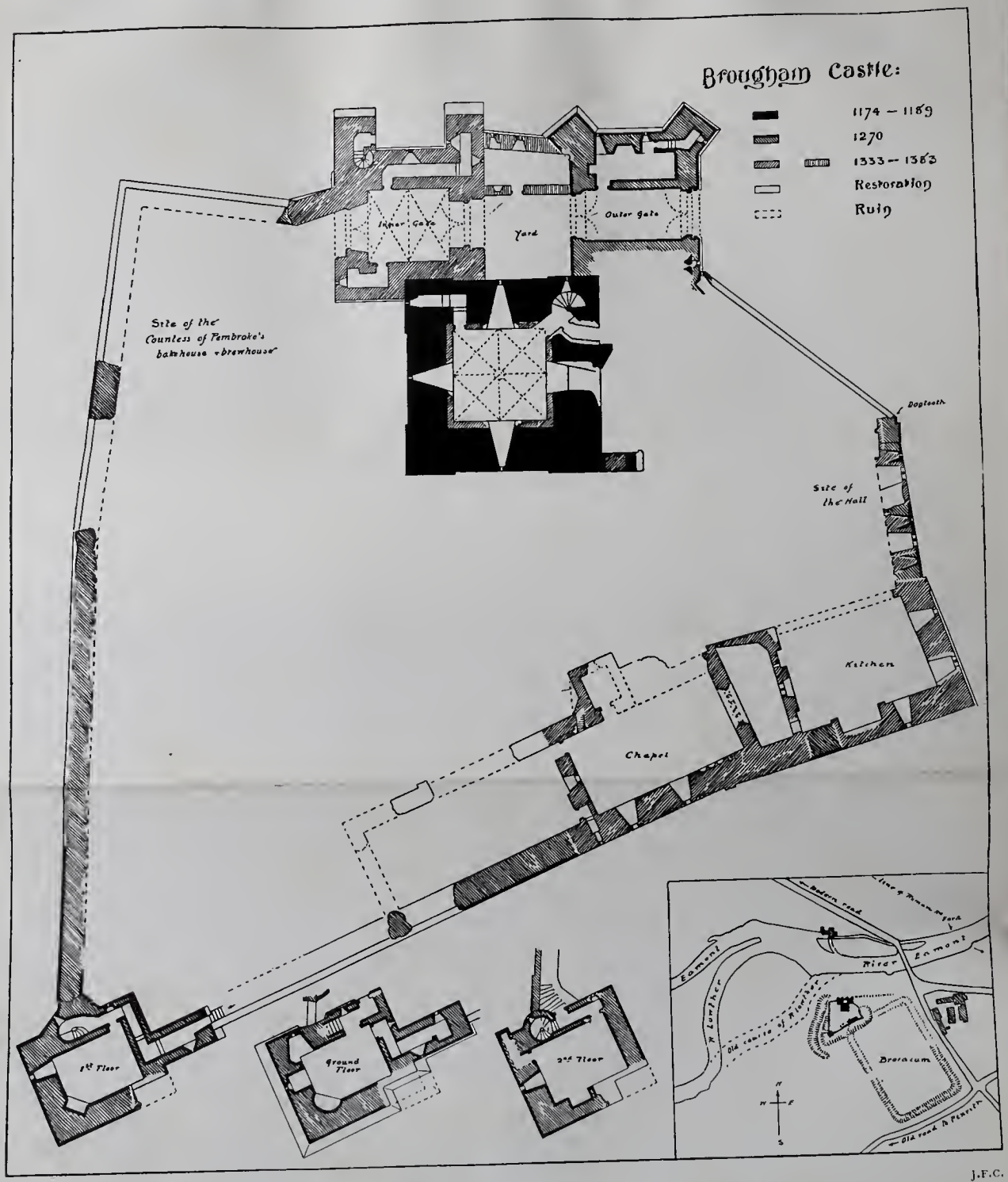


J.F.C.

AFTER A SURVEY MADE BY E. TOWRY WHYTE, M.A., F.S.A.

To back on p. 147.

east wall has fallen. The walls on this level are 10 feet thick and yet, strangely enough, the builders thought it necessary to cant the north-east angle to accommodate the newel staircase. It will be noticed that the walls have been ornamented with a low arcade of semicircular arches, at the same time as the vaulting was put over the basement.

The second floor, with walls 8½ feet thick, is very much like the room below, but it is interesting to note how that, in order to accommodate the level with the winding staircase, it was necessary to enter the room through a short mural passage. In forming the ceiling of the passage a Roman inscribed slab has been used (see Art. xiv. of this volume).

The third or top floor was the ladies' boudoir which now, unfortunately, can only be reached by means of an iron ladder, and the gaps crossed by planked bridges. If this floor is not altogether an early 14th century addition, the interior certainly has been reconstructed at that period. The walls are honeycombed with passages, while each of the angles is canted on a corbelled string course, to give an octagonal effect to the room. The great fireplace with a flat hood composed of 13 stones joggled together, and measuring 8 feet 6 inches wide, occupies the north-west cant. Within the opposite south-east cant is the beautiful Oratory, which, for some reason, Mr. Whyte says, has been locally called 'The Marble Chapel.' It is rather a noticeable fact that the Countess of Pembroke never mentions this choice little corner in her diary; indeed, as a strict protestant, she seems to have ignored it purposely. However, it is a beautiful piece of architecture forming an irregular octagon with a vaulted roof and a small trefoil-headed east window over the site of the altar. On the right hand is a piscina, on the left an ambry, while a small doorway to the north leads into a mural vestry. A passage in the south wall, provided with stone seats

beneath an arcade on either side, appears to have acted as a nave for the accommodation of a few worshippers.

The Second Epoch, 1270.

Now we must pass to the second epoch, to architecture that clearly represents the Early English period, and we must try to ascertain who was the probable builder. We have just seen that in 1245 "the walls and roof had gone to decay." That was at the time when the third lord, Robert, was a minor and in the custody of the prior of Carlisle. But directly young Robert became of age he married and then threw all his time and strength into the Barons' dispute with Henry III., and was finally slain at the age of 33. For this rebellion the estate was again seized by the crown and his two young daughters, aged 10 and 4, became wards. Two years later, 1266, the king remitted the seizure to the guardians; whereupon* they made a partition of the lands somewhat as follows:—That with the assent of either party there should remain to Roger de Clifford, by reason of his guardianship of Isabella, the eldest daughter, the castle of Appleby, and the manor of Bruham, together with a moiety of the sheriffwick and some manors; and to Roger de Leyburne, by reason of his guardianship of Idonea, the younger daughter, the castles of Brough and Mallerstang together with the other moiety. It is somewhat noticeable that a castle is not mentioned in the manor of Bruham though the castles of Appleby, Brough and Mallerstang are specified, and this accords with the belief that from 1245 to at least 1269 Brougham went from bad to worse and was uninhabitable.

At the age of fifteen, 1269, Isabella was given in marriage to Roger de Clifford, the son of her guardian, a great soldier and one who is said by Nicolson and Burn (i, 275) to have "built the greatest part of Brougham Castle." That is to say, he found a lonely and dilapidated

* 51 Henry III., and again on the 21 August, 1268.

Hugh de Morville, d. 1202

Matilda (Maud) = William de Vipont

Idonea de Busli = [1] Robert, d.c. 1234. d. 1227.

Sibilla d. of Wm. Ferrars, Earl of Derby. = [2] John, d. 1241

Isabella Fitz Peter = [3] Robert b.c. 1230, d. 1264.

Isabella b. 1254, m. 1269 d. 1291. = [4] Roger de Clifford, b. 1243, slain at Hawarden, 1283.

Idonea b. 1260, d. 1334. = Roger de Leyburne, d. 1283.

[5] Robert b. 1274, slain at Bannockburn, 1314. = Maud de Clare.

[6] Roger, b. 1299, executed or died of wounds after Boroughbridge, 1327.

[7] Robert b. 1305, m. 1329, d. 1344. = Isabella, d. of Maurice, Ld. Berkley.

[8] Robert, 1331-1363 s.p. = Euphemia, d. of Ralph Nevil, 1st Earl of Westmorland.

[9] Roger, 1333-1390. = Maud, d. of Earl of Warwick. d. 1403.

Elizabeth de Roos = Thomas, 1364-1392.

Elizabeth, d. of Henry, Ld. Percy. = John, 1389, slain at Meaux, 1422.

Joan, d. of Thomas, Ld. Dacre. = Thomas. 1415, slain at St. Albans, 1455.

Margaret = John, 'Black Clifford,' 1430, slain at Towton, 1461.

Anne St. John = Henry, 'The Shepherd,' 1453-1523.

Margaret Percy = Henry, 1st Earl of Cumberland, 1493-1542.

Anne, d. of William, Ld. Dacre. = Henry, 2nd Earl, 1517-1570.

George, 3rd Earl, 1558-1605. = Margaret.

Francis, 4th Earl =

Anne, 1589-1675. = Richard, Earl of Dorset, d. 1624.

Henry, 5th and last Earl, d. 1643, s.p.

Margaret, 1614-1676. = John Tufton, 2nd Earl of Thanet, 1609-1664

Isabella, 1622-1661 = James, E. of Northampton, 1622-1681.

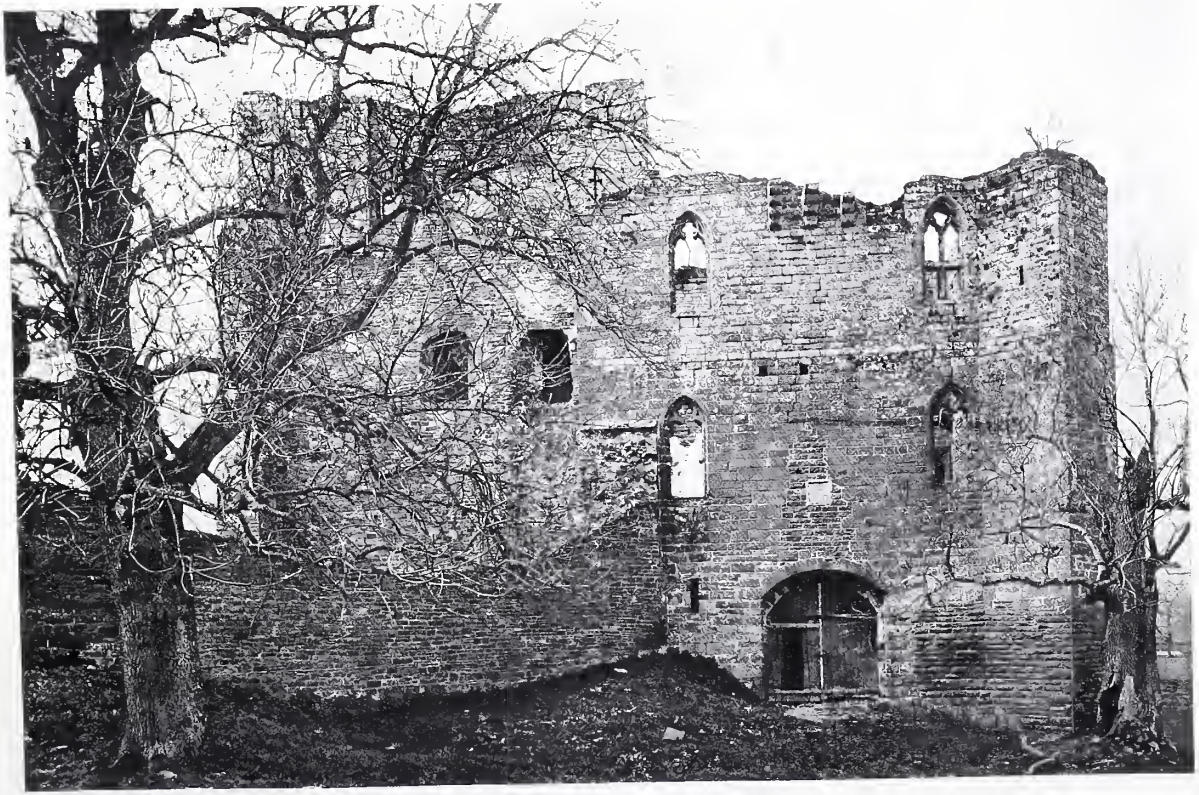
Nicholas, 3rd Earl of Thanet, 1631-1679.

John, 4th Earl of Thanet, 1638-1680.

Richard, 5th Earl of Thanet, 1640-1684.

Thomas, 6th Earl of Thanet, 1644-1729. = Catherine, d. of Henry, Duke of Newcastle.

To face p. 148.



Brougham Castle; the Keep and Outer Gate.

Photo. by H. Bell.

To face p. 149.

keep surrounded by a palisading and a few wooden houses, and he left it surrounded by a strong curtain of stone with towers at each angle and, from certain 13th century details, presumably with better houses for his retainers. The chief of these towers he placed against the north-east corner of the keep to act as an outer gatehouse.

Outer Gate.—It will be noted at once that on the face of the outer gate there are no traces of any chain-holes above or pivot-holes beneath for working a drawbridge across the moat, so that we must picture a barbican with a wooden bridge leading up to a portcullis, that worked between a double-arched entrance, with a pair of heavy doors behind it.

Above the archway there is a stone bearing the inscription 'Thys made Roger.' The Countess of Pembroke mentions it as being placed over the *inner* gateway and then, when the castle was dismantled, it appears to have been utilized for repairing the mill weir, from which position it was rescued about the year 1839 and placed here. It is not, however, a contemporary record of the building of this gate, but rather of work carried out about 1383 by Roger the 9th lord. Within, on the right hand of the vaulted passage, is a Porter's lodge and a trap in the floor gave entrance to the prison beneath. From all accounts this was truly an awful underground dungeon, with a small ventilation loop that was not large enough to lighten the verminous floor, and yet one that gave sufficient light to reveal, through the gloom, the deformed heads of grinning animals, intentionally carved upon the bosses of the vaulting. These bosses have now gone.

The first and second floors have been fine apartments, but it is not clear how they communicated with the keep or even with one another.

With the erection of this gatehouse the original forebuilding to the Keep would be demolished, and I want you to notice that anyone seeking admittance would have to

enter the barbican, cross over the moat, pass beneath the portcullis and through two sets of doors, and then traverse around three sides of the Keep, exposed all the time to the defenders, before he could climb the external staircase to the entrance door. It was a strong position and well planned by a capable soldier.

CURTAIN.—At the same time, I take it, Roger de Clifford demolished the old palisading and built the curtain wall, which came forward from the corner of his gatehouse so as effectually to flank the new entrance.

A dog-tooth ornament carved upon the remnant of a window jamb, and a 13th century doorway beneath the present chapel, seem to indicate that he erected some domestic quarters on either side of a *second* tower which must have stood at the south-east angle of the courtyard. All these buildings have been demolished to make room for the kitchens and banqueting hall of the next epoch. To prove this, notice the much larger splayed plinth around this corner than that on the rest of the curtain, showing that the wall must have been rebuilt nearly from the bottom; and yet the new buildings seem to have followed the old foundations, as their peculiar twist at once suggests the base of a bastion tower.

Turning westward, the curtain followed for a short distance the fosse of the Roman fort, and here we find the lower courses of the original wall built with red sandstone and then with large and squared, grey Lazonby-blocks. Subsequent alterations of the late 14th century are marked by the use of rough-faced and much smaller stones which extend upward to the sill level of the chapel windows, and again by the use of coursed red sandstone when the chapel was restored by the Countess of Pembroke.

S.W. TOWER.—The third tower still stands at the south-west angle, where we again find the walls twisted out so as to enfilade the curtain. It consists of three floors; the

one on the ground-level being entered from the court, the first floor from off the southern rampart, and the second floor by means of an external flight of steps up from the western rampart. Within the thickness of the wall a newel staircase communicated between them. Each floor has a good fireplace for the comfort of the officers of the guard, and there are indications that a skew postern pierced the curtain just beneath.

Turning northward, the line of the curtain now followed close beside the old course of the River Lowther until its confluence with the Eamont, and so, along the bank of that river, it regained the gatehouse.

The Third Epoch, 1333—1383.

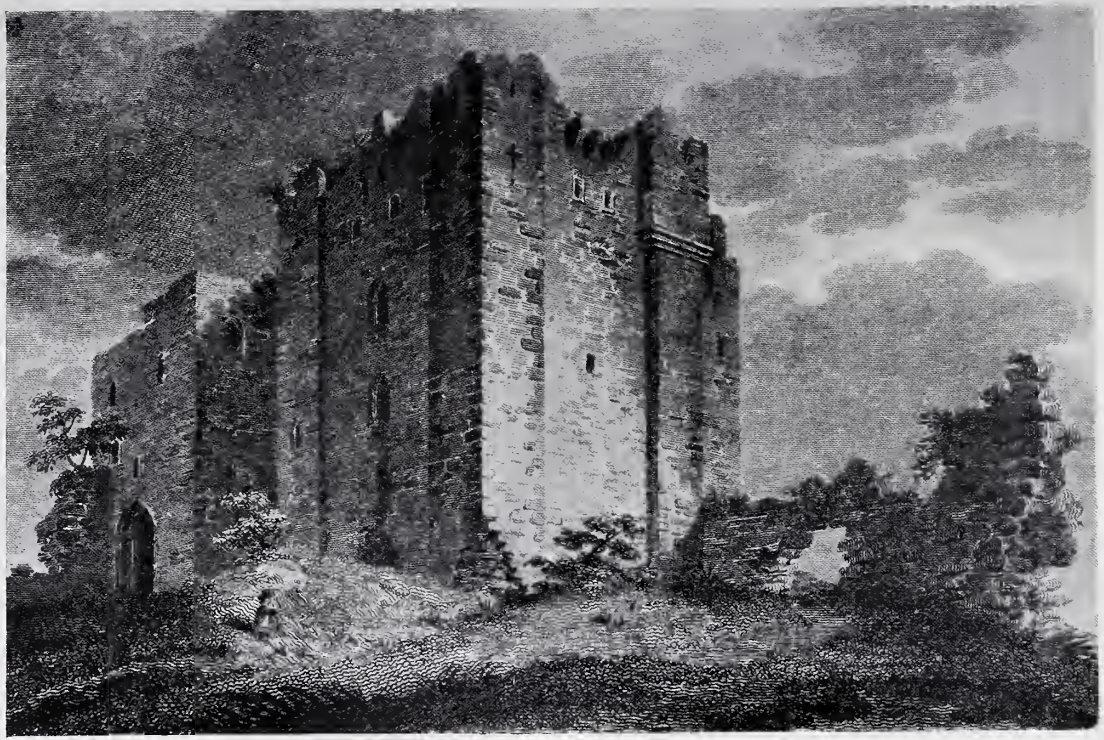
The younger sister, Idonea, having no issue, again united the barony by leaving her share to Robert, the son and heir of Isabella de Clifford. This fifth baron was one of Edward I.'s greatest soldiers. He was Lord Warden of the Western Marches, Lord High Admiral of England and Earl Marshall, and yet we find him only 39 years of age when he fell at Bannockburn in 1314. Such a young martial lord, with so many high offices, could hardly have visited his minor castles and much less had time to devote to their enlargement.

Roger, his eldest son and the next lord, had to suffer the consequences of Bannockburn. For instance, within two months Edward Bruce and James Douglas, after devastating the eastern border, returned over Stainmore burning the towns of Brough, Appleby, Penrith and Kirkoswald. In 1319 and again in 1322 the Black Douglas and Robert Bruce passed through the district causing as much wanton destruction as they could. Then for a short time the estate was forfeited to Andrew de Harcla and only returned one month before Roger, at the age of 28, died in 1327. He was succeeded by his brother, Robert, the 7th lord, who, as the histories say

'lived for the most part a country life.' Looked at from this point of view I cannot think that the Cliffords had any opportunity for such a great reconstruction as Mr. Whyte suggests was made in 1315; but that, on the other hand, the reconstruction was a necessary consequence to the fifteen years after Bannockburn, when England was on the defensive. With the peace following the battle of Dupplin Muir, Edward Balliol, King of Scots, came as a guest to hunt at Appleby and Brougham, and I think that we may safely ascribe to this Robert—the one who lived a country life—the next building epoch about the year 1333.

Inner Gate.—His chief work seems to have been the reconstruction of the upper floor of the keep with the little Oratory before referred to, and the building of the inner gatehouse. The need for an extra gate is not clear, but we find it strongly fortified with a portcullis and heavy doors of oak. The walls on the ground floor are 8 feet 9 inches thick. Within the passage a short flight of stone steps on the north wall led up to a door, raised 5 feet above the ground and opening to a mural chamber with three loop-holes in it for the defence of this corner. At the bottom of the north-west turret is a Carnarvon-arched postern with a newel stairway leading up from it to the first floor.

This upper room seems to have had only one window to the north. The eastern side is taken up with the recess for the portcullis, while the other sides are occupied by mural passages. The present door to the hall of the keep is modern, but probably on the site of an older one. The second floor is somewhat similar, but it has three 14th century windows. To return to the ground-level we again find the passage closed at the further end by a fourth pair of doors, and, curiously enough, as in the outer gate, these also open inwards. To my mind this is a clear indication that the dwellers in the Keep and gatehouses



Brougham Castle; the Keep and Inner Gate.

From a print of 1804.

To face p. 152.

found it necessary to bolt themselves in against their own courtyard. But whether this was a precaution in case the curtain proved insufficient to withstand the enemy, or a disbelief in the loyalty of their own retainers, is a question that cannot now be answered. Just as we pass out of this gatehouse we can see a remnant of the curtain and notice its 6 feet of thickness, a few corbels that denote the height of the rampart, and also a coping stone of the battlements.

Robert's younger son, Roger, the 9th lord, was a great man. He married Maud, the daughter of Thomas, Earl Warwick, and is said to have recovered the estates, kept his castles in good repair and built, according to Machell, this castle "next the East." On the 3rd December, 1383, the sheriffs of Cumberland and Westmorland were appointed "to take stone cutters, masons and other labourers for the repair of certain castles and fortlets of Roger de Clifford, knight, near the March of Scotland, which are useful as a refuge for the king's subjects." Between the two gatehouses he enclosed the small court toward the north, by a narrow building of four storeys; and it will be noted that the north-west turret of the outer gatehouse has been cut into, so as to square up the new rooms; and also that the walls do not bond in with the older work.

Great Chamber.—The Great Chamber in the courtyard and the adjoining chapel may stand upon the basement of earlier buildings, as Mr. Towry Whyte thinks and as a few 13th century details indicate; but the upper floors were certainly built or remodelled at this period. The ruins of the Great Chamber measure about 45 feet long by 20 feet wide. There have been cellars under its wooden floor, and it was covered by an open timbered roof at a lower level than the chapel, as can be seen by the marks on the west wall of the latter.

Chapel.—The chapel was also raised upon cellars, and some of the large stone corbels which carried the wooden floor beams still remain. The north wall is much ruined but fortunately the south wall is almost entire and shows three sedilia and a piscina of late Decorated period. At the east end there has been a large traceried window of grey Lazonby stone inserted into the red sandstone ashlar. The projecting tower probably contained a porch or vestry, with a priest's room above—a tiny room, approached by a very steep flight of steps from the chapel floor and carried on a clever piece of corbel work outside.

Banqueting Hall.—Beyond the remains of a large fireplace and three windows there is not much to be seen in the kitchens at the corner, but northward of them was the Banqueting Hall. There is no doubt that all this corner, with its Decorated architecture, set up in front of the grim sternness of the Keep, made an imposing spectacle and induced Machell to say that Roger built the castle 'next the East.' But the work has not proved so enduring. There are two lights in the external wall still existing, and, at the extreme end, there is a jamb and portion of an arch to a small but rather good doorway.

The Fourth Epoch, 1542—1652.

The fourth epoch was one of restoration. The last period of construction must have been closed by the reappearance of the Scots, for at the death of Maud, relict of the 9th lord, in 1403, an inquisition post mortem finds that the "Castle is worth nothing because it lieth waste by reason of the destruction by the Scots and that the whole profit of the demesne is not sufficient for the reparation and safe keeping of the castle." How long it remained waste we do not know, nor have we any history beyond the few items given on pp. 156-7, until the Countess of Pembroke, in her "Lives of the Cliffords," speaks of Henry, 2nd earl of Cumberland, as being one who bestowed

so much in repairing Brougham as kept him from doing anything at Brough. He married for his second wife, Anne, daughter of William Lord Dacre, of whom it is said that she "never came at London in all her life but employed herself wholly in domestic affairs." In 1558, their eldest son, George, was born here, and in 1617, their second son, Francis, entertained King James I. here on the 6th, 7th and 8th of August. In 1629, Charles I. also stayed at the castle, so that it must have been fairly well restored by this time.

Then during the civil war Sir John Lowther was in command of a garrison here,* and Sir Daniel Fleming says,† "The castle received great damage in the time of the late Rebellion."

However, on August 18, 1649, the Countess arrived, finding it "verie ruinous and much out of repair . . . In which Castle and Parck I had not bene since the 9th of December, 1616, till this daie." There is a document preserved at Appleby, dated 6 February, 1650, in which she states that "she is interested in learning that the lead roof was to be replaced, so that the timber could be preserved." And from this date the restoration seems to have been thoroughly taken in hand. She caused the chapel to "bee pulled downe and new built upp againe larger and stronger than it was before." She caused the old bakehouse and brewhouse beside the south-west tower to be taken down, the site levelled and new buildings to be erected in the north-west corner and this she says, "made the court larger and handsomer than it was before." And so the work continued until 1652 when it was in a condition for her to reside in it. Brougham Castle, she says, "had layne as itt were ruinous and desolated ever since King James his lying in it in 1617, till I made it lately habitable." The usual stone recording

* *Hist. Com.*, 13*th Report*, Appendix, Part 7, p. 89.
† *Description of the county of Westmorland*, 1671, p. 28.

this event, which is finely engraved in beautiful lettering, is carefully preserved in the tower at Appleby.

But after the death of this great lady none of her successors cared to keep so many houses in habitable repair, so that Brough, Pendragon and Brougham were each dismantled as occasion required. In the year 1714, the timber and lead were sold to Mr. Markham and Mr. Anderton, two attorneys at Penrith, for £100. They resold them by auction, the first sale taking place on George I.'s coronation day. In 1767, it is said that the Keep was occupied by a steward, but since then no one has resided here.

Brougham Castle has really been the history of the gallant family of de Clifford, of whom England, but more especially Westmorland, should ever be proud, and for their sakes and their indomitable valour, we reverence this pile.

ADDENDA.

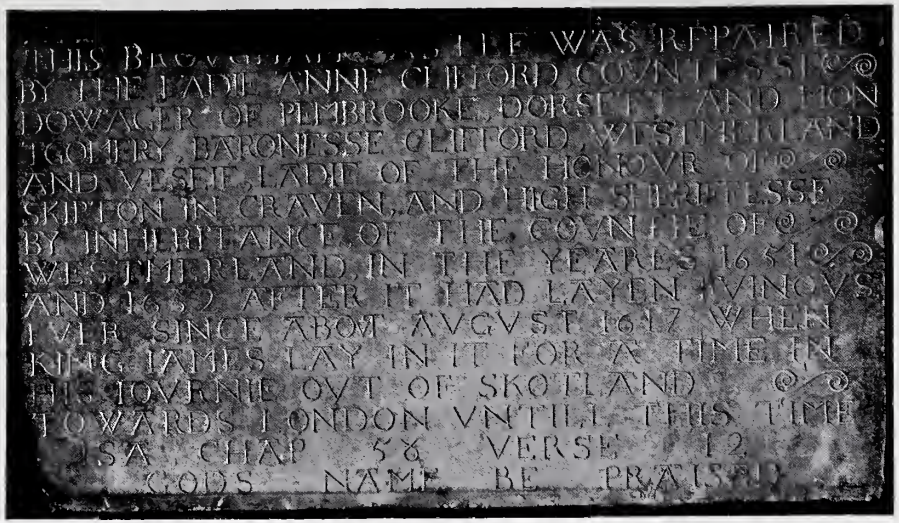
1228, 12 Henry III. De custodia terre et heredis Roberti de Veteri Ponte Dominus rex concessit H. de Burgo, etc. . . . custodiam terre et heredis Roberti de Veteri Ponte una cum castris que fuerunt ipsius Roberti usque ad etatem predicti heredis . . . . Eodem modo scribitur constabulariis castrorum de Peverelthorp, Appleby, Bruham, Burgh que fuerunt ipsius Roberto, liberanda predictis Willelmo et Gilberto (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1225-32, p. 176).

1300, June 23. Edward I. issued letters patent dated from here (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1292—1301, p. 551).

1316, October 4. Bartholomew de Badlesmere had the custody of Robert de Clifford's heir, being a minor (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1313–17, p. 595).

1324, October 28. To Thomas de Wardecop, keeper of certain lands in the King's hands in County Westmorland. Order to expend up to £10 in repairing the houses, walls and other buildings within the castle of Browham (*Cal. Close Rolls*, 1323–27, p. 227).

1380, July 14. Grant of pontage for six months, for repair of the bridges of Louthirbrig and Amotbrig, on the confines of West-



THE COUNTESS OF PEMBROKE'S STONE.

From Dr. Williamson's *Lady Anne Clifford*. To face p. 156.

morland and Cumberland, from things for sale passing over or under them or by " le Castelwath of Burgham " (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1377–81, p. 530).

1462, February 6. Grant for life to Richard Musgrave, the younger, esquire, of the office of Constable of the King's Castle of Burham, co. Westmorland, and surveyor of the castle and lordships with all the accustomed profits (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1461–67, p. 74).

1462, May 27. Grant to the King's kinsman Richard Nevil, Earl of Warwick, of divers castles including the castles, manors and lordships of Pendragon, Burgh, Burgham and Appleby (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1461–67).

1471, July 11. Grant to William Parre and John Parre, knights, and the heirs male of their bodies of the castles, manors, and lordships of Pendragon, Burgh, Appleby and Burgham (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1467–77, p. 264).

1475, June 3. Licence for William Parre, knight, who is going to cross the sea with the King on his voyage and service to grant the castles, manors and townships of Pendragon, Burgh, Appleby and Burgham to the King's kinsman, George, archbishop of York and others (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1467–77).

1537. In a " device for the sure keeping of the West Marches foranempst Scotland," we find that Henry, earl of Cumberland, is to lie at Brougham and Sir Edward Musgrave at Hartley Castle (*Letters and Papers*, Henry VIII., vol. 12, pt. 2).

1629, December 3. Thomas Carleton to Sec. Dorchester, a letter in which he hopes he shall see him at Carleton when His Majesty returns from Scotland by Carlisle to Brougham Castle, his Majesty's next stage (*Cal. Dom. State Papers*, 1629–31).

1663, August 10. Sir Philip Musgrave to Williamson. A letter in which he says that Appleby, Brougham, Brough and Pendragon Castles are lately repaired by the Countess of Pembroke, in the last of which lives Captain Branthwaite, who formerly served the Parliament. Mr. Secretary should write to her to be careful to put faithful keepers into them ; I cannot call them tenantable places, yet they are of that strength as, if an enemy shall seize upon any, it might be a trouble to recover it again (*Cal. Dom. State Papers*, Addenda, 1660—1670, p. 683).

ART. XVI.—*Newbiggin Hall, Westmorland.* By J. H. MARTINDALE, F.R.I.B.A.

Read at the site, July 8th, 1921.

WE have here an ancient manor house, and although it cannot show, in its masonry, the same length of time in years as Brougham Castle, still it has a long and interesting history. Its owner takes his place with those "ancient stocks which have so long withstood the waves and weather of time," and claims unbroken descent and inheritance from the reign of King Stephen, more than seven centuries ago, as proved by the charter of Alan, son of Roland, Lord of Galloway, and Constable of Scotland, to John de Newbiggin, dated 1199, which is of the many interesting documents to be seen in the Hall.

Further, during the whole of this long period, the family has taken its share in the duties of citizenship, and as Members of the House of Commons, were up to 20th century ideas; for I see that John de Crackenthorpe, who was knight of the shire for Westmorland in 1382, was paid for his attendance at Parliament in the reigns of Richard II. and Henry IV.

The oldest existing part of the building is the Eastern or Pele Tower, which Mr. Crackenthorpe thinks replaces an earlier structure and dates about 1460, after the Wars of the Roses, when John de Crackenthorpe, who had fought for the Lancastrians, received a free pardon from Edward IV., which is preserved here. This John was a descendant of the M.P. mentioned above. There were four Johns in succession, and the former was the first; this one was the third. The late Dr. Taylor also came to the same conclusion (in these *Transactions*, O.S. xii., 36) that this tower, in all probability, replaced the earlier

fortalice, but the vaulted cellars, which may have been part of an earlier structure, were filled up at the time the floor was lowered. Tradition says the earlier structure dated back to the reign of Edward I.

Several discoveries have been made in this tower, since our last visit, and illustrate well the alterations made during the 400 years of its existence. Its external dimensions are some 45 feet by 30 feet; the walls are about 4½ feet thick, and are well built of the local red sandstone, in coursed masonry. There are now only two storeys, but originally there were three, and, I rather think, some old gypsum floors in some of the upper rooms.

There are no plinths, strings or external projections, below a moulding at the over-sail of the parapet, which is embattled and has angle turrets. These turrets are not quite similar; the north-eastern and south-eastern simply have the projection given by the oversailing course of the parapet; the south-western has fine bold corbels, and the north-western is the stair-turret carried up; all are embattled. These parapets and turrets are rather Scottish in character, though not bartizans. The stone figures are almost unique in Westmorland though common in Northumberland and the border counties of Scotland; Brackanhill is the only example in Cumberland, and there are similar figures at Dalton-in-Furness.

The present window and door openings, and the floor levels, are insertions of a later date, say about 1680, but a very interesting discovery has been made by Mr. Crackenthorpe of a square-headed window, in the east wall of the hall. It is not improbably the well of an old newel stair, which formerly led down from the first floor to the basement. There is a deep indentation on one of the jambs which looks as if weapons had been sharpened on it, possibly arrows; and Mr. Crackenthorpe points out that a defender, concealed here, would be in an excellent position for defending the old main entrance, if it was in

the position indicated by the two corbels on the south front at the original first-floor level; but this is not very clear.

Originally, the main room in this tower would be on the first floor, occupying the whole span, internally 37 feet by 22 feet, with a stair turret projecting at the north-west angle, and the great fireplace would be in this north wall, which is a little thicker than the others. You can see the remains of the old stone oven some six feet above the present floor, and the old flue can be seen by opening a cupboard in the small bedroom on the first floor, which again indicates the original first-floor level, and confirms the theory about the corbels.

There are some Tudor door heads visible, and Mr. Crackenthorpe thinks that the window head, which I have referred to, may be older than Tudor.

Attached to the north-side of this tower, and covering the stair-turret, is a smaller tower, known by the name of "Jerusalem." It is later in date, but externally is treated and finished in a similar manner to the main tower. The west tower, according to Duckett, is said to have been built by the Henry Crackenthorpe, who had four wives and lived *temp.* Elizabeth. It was entirely rebuilt during the last century, Dr. Taylor says, "on old lines," but it is now impossible to say the original exact position of this tower, and consequently, the size or arrangement of the central block, or hall; but this central space, now containing the dining-room, between the east and west towers, was occupied, I believe in the 18th century, by a hall, with complete wall panelling round it, and was possibly two storeys high. The famous inscribed stone refers to this block, and was originally somewhere on it, probably over the entrance door in the centre. It is not now *in situ*, but has been recently placed on the main tower; it is otherwise perfect, and except for the shield of arms, is very similar to the one at Askham.

There are remains of very good Elizabethan panelling in some of the rooms, and over the fireplace in the hall are panels containing ten coats of arms, giving some of the various alliances of the family. The top row, left to right, Threlkeld, Blencowe, Sandford, Musgrave, Bellingham; bottom row, Vaux, Wharton, Crackenthorpe, Dalston, Featherstonehaugh.

The plan of this house has been said to be similar to that of Howgill Castle, but I do not quite agree with this, except so far that both have a kind of H plan, that is, two towers and central block between, but the construction and arrangement of the towers is totally different.

ART. XVII.—*Shank Castle.* By W. T. MCINTIRE, B.A.

Read at the site, September 13th, 1921.

IT seems strange that the great pele tower we are visiting to-day, built amid surroundings of such romantic beauty, possessing such features of strength and standing in the midst of a district where that strength must have found such ample opportunities for useful employment, should have left so scanty a trace upon the pages of historic record. And yet, though its present structure bears—as I think we shall see—evidence of a far earlier origin, there is no definite mention of the building before the beginning of the seventeenth century.

Its site is one of considerable natural strength and one of great interest. The peninsula of rising ground upon which we stand at the confluence of the Raeburn on the north and the Lyne on the south has been known from early ages as "The Shank" and upon the Shank lay the demesne lands and dwelling-house of the great manor of Solport. This manor, part of the parish of Stapleton, appears in documents of the 13th and 14th centuries under the names of Solpert, Solporte, Solperd, Soelberth and Solpard, whilst in the old ballad "The Fray of Solport"—a ballad by the way which casts a lurid light upon the morals of its inhabitants—it appears again as Suport. The place-name has puzzled etymologists; Professor Sedgfield suggests a personal name and the Old Norse *bardh*—'edge or corner of a field,' but apparently without conviction.

The manor of Solport, originally in the hands of the de Levingtons, passed to the de Tilliols, to whom such large grants of land in the neighbourhood were made by Henry I. From that family by marriage it descended in

succession to the Colvilles and Musgraves. It was sold by Sir Edmund Musgrave to Lord Preston, from whom it descended to the Grahams of Netherby. The Castle is now the property of its present occupier, Mr. Waugh, to whose kindness and helpfulness on the occasion of a recent visit I have much pleasure in now paying a willing tribute.

There is not much information to be gleaned with regard to the early history of Solport. The Manor was held of the Barony of Liddale, and figures in John Denton's account of that barony. It was the home of the powerful Border clan of the Taylors. The mill was built upon the Raeburn, and its customary tenants owed suit and paid sixteenth corn.

Hitherto we have had no mention of the Castle, except perhaps of it or its predecessors as the dwelling-house of the manor of Solport upon the Shank, but suddenly Shank Castle and its surroundings become a subject of vivid interest with the advent upon the scene of Sir William Hutton of Penrith. The Lysons, quoting Thomas Denton, write:—"Sir William Hutton built (do they mean altered and enlarged?) a neat house here for his own habitation when steward to George, Earl of Cumberland, and he dwelt here to subdue the Moss Troopers."

Now this Sir William Hutton was also one of the Commissioners of the Border during the troublous times of what is known as the Extirpation of the Grahams, and a flood of light is let in upon the darkness of the Shank and its surroundings by the parts of the Household Books of Lord William Howard—the Belted Will of romance—which relate to this official.

It was to no very pleasant neighbourhood that poor Sir William Hutton was called to exercise—not without excessive impartiality, it would seem—the powers entrusted to him under his commissionership. Not to speak of the somewhat insalubrious proximity of the

Armstrongs of Gilnockie, the Grahams of Netherby, the Nixons of Bewcastle and the Fosters and Taylors nearer home, we read in Lord William Howard's "Brief Survey and Certificate of Disordered persons" thumb-nail sketches of many lawless and disagreeable characters in his immediate neighbourhood. Such were John alias Jock Martinson of the Hirst in Solport," a common noted theefe and receitor of theeves," who had lived "under the countenance of a knowne officer, which made him bould and poore men fearfull to complaine of the wrongs he offered them." This Jock is a noted horse-stealer, and is said to have a brother "as badd as hee," while both are described as friends of one Smith, "who is worse than these, if worse may bee." Again, James Battie of Crossrigg in Solport "on the XIXth of March, 1617, did steale iijteen sheep from Brakenhill," and, later, "three bushels of bigg from a barne there." George Armstrong, late of Whelpholmedale is described "as now keeping a lewd and disordered ostlery on the Shanke," while William Taylor of the High Yeate in Hethersgill "about foure yeares since had fower nowte about his house, stolen from Chaulke, and plaied one of them away at cardes." Another of these charming characters, "John Taylor, neare the Shanke" married "Jannet Greene, much suspected to be a witch and of badd behaviour and the neighbour inhabitants doubt sometimes of bad neighbourhood."

So, too, did Sir William Hutton, who "of his owne knowledg affirmed lately to his Majestie that there was not a true man inhabiting on Liddale." I notice, too, that in 1606 Sir William's name is recorded among those of the few gentlemen who cared to contribute to the so-called voluntary fund raised for the deportation of some of the Grahams, the amount of his contribution being £4.

But the continual annoyance caused by these malefactors was not the sole cause of Sir William Hutton's

troubles. His relations with the powerful Lord William Howard seem to have been of the worst. Lord William, who seems to have anticipated the popular demand of the present day for the dismissal of superfluous officials, had pointed out to the king that economies could be effected by dismissing certain officers, among these Sir William Hutton, whose administration he sharply criticised. Sir William proved a staunch "limpet." He made counter accusations; among others, one against Lady Elizabeth Howard as having allowed a notorious criminal, Thomas Routledg, to escape from Naworth Castle. Such accusations were flying about among the Border leaders at the time. He met with a vigorous counter-attack from Belted Will. Nine separate charges are brought against him of similar conduct at Shank, and the whole document ends with a fiery denunication of his iniquity. He is urged to make his peace with heaven and to remember how three of his servants had committed suicide, and reminded of the untimely deaths of three of his sons under unpleasant and most unedifying circumstances. Poor Sir William Hutton can only reply with a letter of abject apology, entreating his Lordship to help him in the payment of a fine of £20 which he has incurred over the matter. And so he passes from the scene, and with him we lose sight of the castle which the Earl's papers call his "mansion house neare adjoining, called the Shank, where he much resideth."

The existing remains of the Castle consist of a massive tower, measuring 52 feet by 29 feet, with its longer axis lying from the north-east to south-west. Including the basement, it has four storeys, and two transverse walls divide each of these storeys into three large rooms. Access to the basement is gained by a doorway in the south-west wall of the tower. This doorway has, externally, a square head with a label round it, but within, in the thickness of the wall (here five feet thick) it is vaulted

and provided with holes for the insertion of bars or baulks of timber to protect the entrance during raids. The basement is now used as a henhouse and stables. In it can be seen the remains of a newel staircase which leads to the floor above.

The main entrance to the tower is in the first floor above the basement, some ten feet from the ground, in the south-eastern face of the building. It is of a similar character to that of the basement doorway, and, like the latter, is provided with socket-holes for bars.

The positions of these doors, the massiveness of the masonry and other peculiarities of the structure would incline one to attribute an earlier origin to the building of part at least of the tower than the 16th century and the days of Sir William Hutton. There is further a fact which seems significant. High up in the wall between the two inner divisions of the tower—the third, that towards the north-east, has fallen into ruins—are the remains of a window looking north-eastwards. The wall in question is 1 foot 9 inches thick. Does this mean that part of this wall was formerly the outer wall of a fourteenth or fifteenth century building and that the window, referred to above, looked out over the penthouse roof of a building which was subsequently heightened? It may be a mere coincidence, but I found on measurement that there was a considerable difference in the thickness of the walls of the two compartments of the tower, the wall to the south-west being 4 feet 6 inches thick, and that to the north-east only 3 feet 10 inches on the north-west face of the tower; moreover, a crack is to be observed in the masonry. I wonder if there is any possibility of maintaining the theory that the south-western portion of the building is the small original pele tower, and that the north-eastern portion represents the additions of the time of Sir William Hutton.

The two existing rooms are now used as a hay-loft. The floors of the two storeys above have disappeared, and were evidently of wood. The corbels which supported the beams of the top floor are still to be seen in the north-east chamber.

The height of the two rooms of the principal floor seems to have been 7 feet 1 inch, and the dimensions of their floors 20 feet 9 inches by 12 feet 3 inches for the south-western room and 21 feet 10 inches by 13 feet 5 inches for that to the north-east.

There are numerous fire-places, the largest, that of the south-west room, with an arched opening measuring 9 feet 4 inches across. Its flue still remains intact.

In the same room may be seen the upper part of the newel staircase leading to the basement, and, in its south-west corner, the remains of a large circular mural chamber with a smaller one above. This may have been a garde-robe. A similar position in the more northerly room is occupied by the remains of a newel staircase. There are other smaller mural chambers, and, on the exterior of the tower, on the south-west face, is a stone spout which may have served as a drain to one of these.

The numerous windows on each storey appear to be of Tudor date, and may have been insertions of the time of Sir William Hutton.

The ruined north-eastern portion of the tower contains an interesting staircase.

There are no traces of machicolations, and the tower is not crenellated.

There are short descriptions of Shank Castle by Mr. T. H. B. Graham in these *Transactions*, N.S. ix, in the late Dr. M. W. Taylor's *Old Manorial Halls*, and in Mr. John F. Curwen's recent work on the Castles and Towers of Cumberland and Westmorland. The last-mentioned work contains two excellent photographs of the Castle by the Rev. G. J. Goodman, and I lately came

across, at Tullie House, in the Jackson Library an interesting pencil sketch, undated, of the same building. The only differences from its present condition to be observed were a stone staircase to a door at the angle between the tower and the adjoining farm building, and two beams at the upper angles of the principal entrance doorway, both of which features have now disappeared.

ART. XVIII.—*The Roman Fort at Bewcastle.* By R. G. COLLINGWOOD, M.A., F.S.A., F.S.A.Scot.

Read at the site, September 13th, 1921.

I. THE FORT.

THE Roman fort of Bewcastle* lies on a low hill, 500 feet above sea level, projecting southward into the valley of the Kirk Beck and standing in the middle of the Bewcastle basin. The sides of the basin to north, east and south are formed by hills rising steeply but not precipitously to 1,000 and 1,200 feet, their tops lying on a semicircle with a radius of two miles, whose centre is Bewcastle itself. Westward the Kirk Beck escapes to join the Lyne. The position is commanding, and yet it is in a *cul de sac.* Tactically, the hill of Bewcastle is strong, protected by a loop of the beck, scarped with a fall of forty feet or less on three sides, and even on the fourth rising very definitely above the neck of land that connects it with the northern hills. Strategically it commands the whole basin, but nothing more. No natural line of communications passes through it. It guards no pass, and lies on no obvious road. To reach it, the Romans had to

* The only previous account, apart from the brief notices of Bruce, Ferguson, Hübner, etc., is *A Memoir on the Roman Station and Runic Cross at Bewcastle*, by the Rev. John Maughan, A.B., London, Groombridge and Sons, 1857; 9 pp. on the fort. Maughan claims to be able to trace 'ramparts or buildings at a small distance from [the fort, on the N.] which appear to have been a *procestrium*': gates on the E., W. and S., at the last of which he dug a guard-house in 1840: the *praetorium*, at the N.W. corner of the church-yard, and most of the other buildings and streets. Much of this is perhaps over-sanguine, but he was probably right about the E. gate and perhaps the S. More valuable are his statements that the carvings and inscriptions were found S.E. of the fort (cemetery?) and that the finds included jewellery, iron objects, pottery (figured Samian, one piece signed MARTINIM by Martinus, a 2nd-century Lezoux potter) and coins of Nerva (COS iii., *i.e.* A.D. 97), Antoninus Pius (138-161) and perhaps Victorinus (265-267). All this would suit an occupation lasting from Hadrian to the disaster which overtook the Wall about 270.

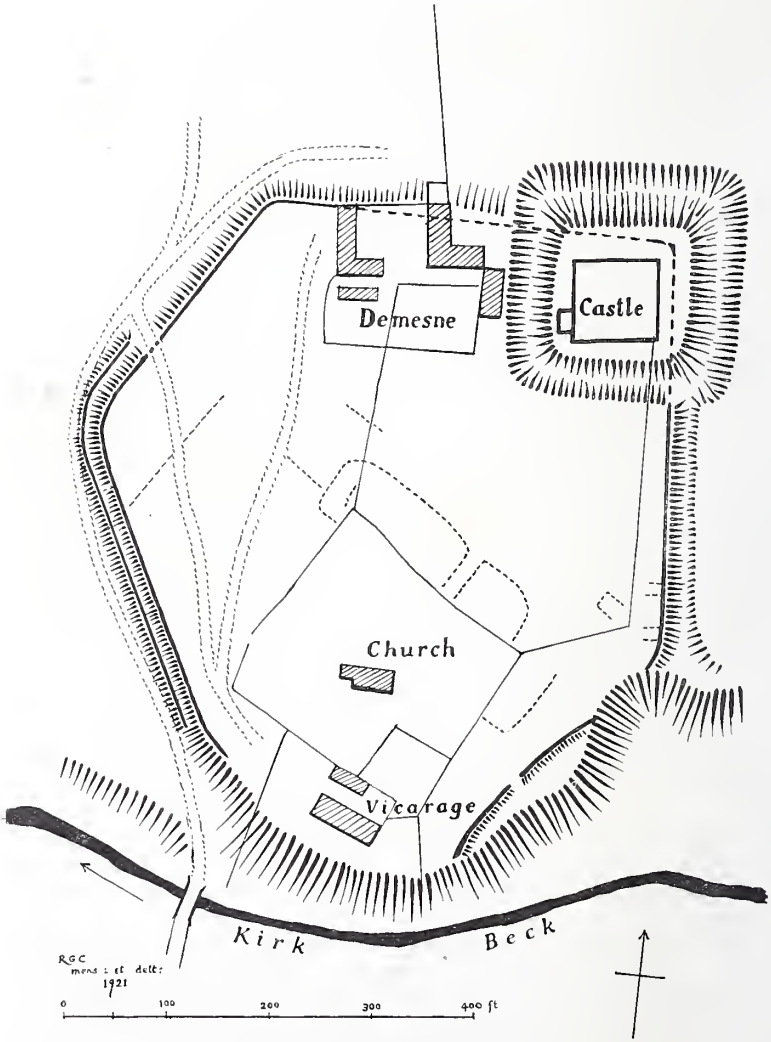


FIG 1.—BEWCASTLE.

build a road over Gillalees Beacon, rising to a summit of 1,000 feet; for though they could have approached it up the valley, or round by Askerton, the distances would have been considerably longer. The topography by itself thus suggests the conclusion to which we shall find ourselves led by the archaeological evidence; that Bewcastle in Roman days was an outpost built to keep a wild district quiet, not a halting-place on a military road.

The outlines of the fort, notwithstanding the damage done by the builders of Bueth's castle, are clear, and to anyone accustomed to Roman forts surprising; for they seem to enclose a hexagonal space of six acres in area. My survey makes the area 5.98 acres, but in view of the state of the defences on the south and south-east, accuracy is impossible. Now the Romans in Britain (whatever they may have done elsewhere at an earlier period) did not build irregular forts; even if the angles were slightly inaccurate, as they generally were, or wildly inaccurate, as at Whitley Castle, the fort was always a parallelogram approximating more or less to a rectangle. Further, the size of Bewcastle is equally surprising. The ordinary forts run in two sizes, a smaller type at about 2½ acres and a larger type at 4 to 5. The former type seems to have accommodated an auxiliary cohort 500 strong, the latter one 1,000 strong. A few forts only, such as Newstead, whose importance was quite exceptional, fall outside this classification and are larger. At Bewcastle, then, we have the two problems of extraordinary shape and extraordinary size; we shall return to these problems when we have further described the visible remains.

On the south, where the fort comes closest to the Kirk Beck and in fact is separated from it only by a forty-foot bluff, the defences have wholly disappeared. Probably they have been destroyed in the making of the vicarage garden, and I have assumed, in reckoning the area of the fort, that their line runs a few yards in advance of the

vicarage front door; but it is possible that they lay further forward and that the beck has eroded them away. Definite traces of such erosion are visible further to the east. The south-east face of the fort also runs along the top of a bluff, and the rampart, here visible, follows a re-entrant curve and is also rather slight and insignificant in appearance. Both these facts suggest that the original rampart lay farther out and that it was undermined by the beck in the Roman period, to be replaced by the existing line.

At the E.-S.-E. corner the erosion has continued since the Roman evacuation, and 60 to 80 feet of the rampart have gone. The rampart now runs north in a straight line in the form of a well-marked bank, for 180 feet; originally it was more than twice as long, but here it has been cut through by the moat of the mediaeval castle, which is planted exactly on the N.-E. angle of the fort, its N. and E. moat being merely an enlargement of the Roman fosse, while that on the S. and W. is cut through the body of the Roman fort. The N.-E. corner must have been a fairly true right angle, and the N. face was 400 feet long. It is much interrupted, first by the castle and then by the buildings of the Demesne farm; the last 50 feet are fairly clear and show the rampart as a well-formed mound. At the N.-W. angle it turns about 60 degrees, and the N.-W. face is 275 feet long. For the first 200 feet the rampart, though strongly marked, is single, an outer rampart and ditch having been perhaps destroyed by the modern road which skirts the defences; but the outer rampart becomes clear towards the W. angle, and continues for the next 400 feet.

The W. corner again shows an angle of 60 degrees, and of the S.-W. side 360 feet remain, which are probably the whole. Here the defences are in fine preservation and the double rampart is very strongly marked; I doubt whether any unexcavated Roman fort in England, except perhaps

Whitley Castle, shows a more impressive line of rampart. There is no ditch, the ground falling away too steeply to demand or permit it. At the S.-W. corner the angle was probably about 40 degrees, but the total disappearance of the S. rampart prevents our establishing this with certainty.

Inside the fort a number of banks are visible, and I have plotted the most conspicuous of these in broken lines on the plan. I do not think any of them are the remains of Roman buildings except possibly that inside the W. angle running parallel to the N.-W. face, and the four short sections inside the S.-E. corner, which might represent the guard-chambers of a gate. These, to judge by their regularity and alignment, might indicate Roman foundations.

The interpretation of these remains is difficult; and in the absence of excavation any suggestions must be taken as conjectural. It has often been said that Bewcastle was a British fort reoccupied by the Romans, a view held by so eminent an authority as Chancellor Ferguson; and the similarity with the plans of British polygonal towns such as Silchester is very striking. Colonel Karslake has published a group of such polygonal plans in the *Antiquaries' Journal*, vol. 1, pp. 303–315. But against this view it must be remarked that the Roman system of fortification was a highly-specialised thing, skilfully adapted to the tactics and armament of their troops, and that a British fort would be little more valuable to a Roman cohort than a Sudanese zareba to a company engaged in trench warfare. Non-Roman earthworks may for short periods or in emergencies have been occupied by Roman units; the case of Hod Hill in Dorset is well known (plan in Ward, *Romano-British Buildings and Earthworks*, p. 15); but this is a wholly different matter from taking over a British earthwork and occupying it as a permanent garrison fort for centuries. That the Romans

can have done this at Bewcastle is both unthinkable and unsupported by any parallel. The original British earthwork itself would, moreover, be as inexplicable at Bewcastle as the Roman occupation of it; for such polygonal British earthworks are not found in these regions.

Bewcastle cannot be pre-Roman; but the suggestion might be made that in its existing form it was mediaeval, a kind of outer ward or pelegarth to the shell-keep. But this will hardly be maintained by any student of mediaeval fortification. If the Bewcastle fort is too large for a Roman station, it is *a fortiori* much too large for the outer ward of a shell-keep whose own internal courtyard was capable of accommodating all the cattle that its owner can have wished to defend.

No other origin than Roman seems admissible; and the defences, with their double rampart and rectilinear lay-out, are Roman enough. Inscriptions (see Part III) show that the officer commanding was a tribune, and that

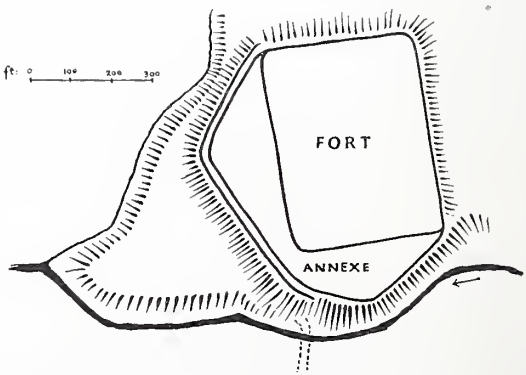


Fig. 2.—Suggested Reconstruction.

means that the garrison was a regiment 1,000 strong; such a regiment required a fort of about $4\frac{1}{2}$ acres, or say 500 feet by 400, if rectangular. Now the N.-E. corner of Bewcastle is a right angle; the N. side is 400 feet long; the E. side is also 400 feet, but we have seen reason to

believe that the S.-E. corner has collapsed under the action of the beck, and 100 feet of the E. side may quite easily have gone. There is thus room for a rectangle of 500 by 400 feet inside the existing defences, having an irregular, somewhat crescent-shaped annexe adhering to it on the west and south. The fort would thus be about $4\frac{1}{2}$ acres in extent, the annexe about 2 acres.

Such annexes are well-known features of the Scottish Roman forts; a reduced plan of a specimen (Lyne) is appended for comparison. The annexe is irregular in size and shape, but a total extent of half the fort's own area is not unusual. Further, the annexe is often placed on the naturally-defended side of the fort, to leeward, so

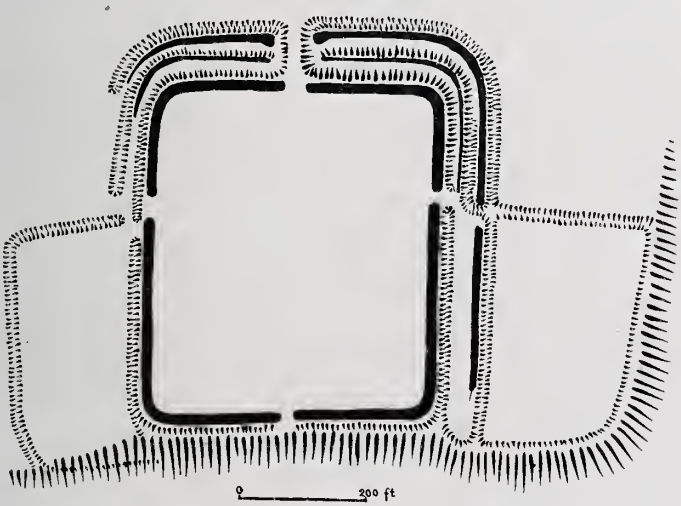


FIG. 3.—FORT WITH ANNEXES (LYNE, PEEBLES).

to speak, of the main fortifications. Hitherto annexes have not been found south of the border, but there is no reason to suppose they did not exist (see further in this vol., Art. xx., on Castlesteads); and all the conditions which made them necessary in Scotland were present at Bewcastle. Their function was to protect those buildings

(such as the bath-house) which the conventions of castrametation excluded from the fort itself.

There are only two difficulties in the way of accepting the suggestion that Bewcastle is a rectangular fort with a crescent-shaped annexe. First, the shape of the annexe is unusual; secondly, one would expect to see a mound and ditch outlining the true fort, running due south from the N.-W. corner towards the bridge over Kirk Beck. The defences marking off a fort from its annexe were sometimes not so large or elaborate as those surrounding the rest of the fort, but one would not expect them to have entirely disappeared.

The first of these objections is not serious; the few annexes whose plans we possess are sufficiently unlike one another to prepare us for further variation. The second has more weight. I do not think from its appearance that the area of the fort has ever been ploughed; if it had been, the missing rampart might have been levelled in the process. But this part of the fort is traversed by two field roads, and these must have disturbed the surface. Only excavation can show whether they have obliterated the rampart along whose line, if my conjecture is right, one of them actually runs.

Turning to the history of the fort, we find little to guide us. Enquiry on the spot has yielded me only one fragment of pottery—a piece of a Samian bowl, shape 37, with ornament in the style of Cinnamus, made therefore at Lezoux in the middle of the second century but in use, possibly, a century or more after that date—and no coins at all. A hoard of coins was found in the beck close to the bridge, but it is dispersed and has left no trace behind. The quantities of pottery which must, in the past, have been turned up in digging graves have disappeared with equal completeness. Apart therefore from the three coins reported by Maughan, we are thrown back on

the inscriptions, which I have described in detail below in Part III.

These enable us to trace the fort back to the reign of Hadrian, and to connect it with the great scheme of fortification which in its final phase produced Hadrian's Wall. The inscription which names Hadrian (No. 8) is a slab such as was set over the gate of the central building in a fort; it names also the Second and Twentieth Legions, or some unit drafted from them for the work. Another stone (No. 9) is an ordinary walling-stone and records building done by the Second Legion as a whole. If Bewcastle was one of those forts which, like Chesters, Birdoswald and others, were first built for a cohort of 500 and then enlarged to hold one of 1,000, it is tempting to suppose that one stone records the building of the original fort, perhaps by the Second Legion, and the other the completion of the *principia* of the larger fort soon afterwards by the Second and Twentieth.* We can say with certainty that the fort was occupied for over a century, doubtless sharing in the disasters of the late second century and the reconstruction at the beginning the third; for No. 3 dates from some time about A.D. 230. The fact that we have no inscriptions later than this does not prove that the fort was abandoned in the third century, for inscriptions of the latter part of that century and of the following century are very rare, and are almost confined to milestones. Bewcastle then had a longer life than Birrens in Dumfriesshire, which is in some ways analogous with it, being in essence a milliary fort pushed forward from Carlisle rather than a stage on a road into Scotland; for Birrens does not seem to have been rebuilt after the disaster of 180. The forts along Dere Street, Risingham and High Rochester, resemble Bewcastle in being reoccupied after this disaster; at both forts we

* Careful examination of the neighbouring ground might reveal the large camps inhabited by these troops during the work.

have inscriptions of the early third century. If, however, as seems probable, the Dere Street forts were abandoned late in the third century, we may reasonably assume for the present that Bewcastle shared their fate. This is borne out by Maughan's coins, which suggest an occupation from the early second to the late third century.

As to the Roman name of the fort we know nothing. It was conjectured by Hodgson that Bewcastle was the Banna of the Rudge Cup, which is engraved with the legend A MAIS ABALLAVA VXELODVM CAMBOGLANS BANNA, a series of five place-names of which Papcastle, Maryport and Birdoswald are identified, but the first and last unknown: at Birdoswald, however, an altar (C.I.L. vii., 830) was found in 1821 dedicated to the god Silvanus by the hunters or foresters of Banna (*venatores*), which again connects Banna with the Birdoswald district, more especially with the wild fells north of it. Hodgson's conjecture is thus plausible; but it remains a conjecture.

II. Communications: The Maiden Way.

If a straight line is drawn from the north gate of Birdoswald fort north-westward by north to the ford in the Kirk Beck which gives access to Bewcastle, six miles as the crow flies, the Roman road connecting the two forts is nowhere more than two hundred yards from this line. Indeed, it is an even straighter road than this fact suggests. For two miles, from Birdoswald to Slittery Ford in the King Water, it is practically dead straight: from the ford it is dead straight again for between three and four miles, after which it bends slightly to the right to reach Bewcastle. For the greater part of its course it is either visible *in situ* or capable of easy identification by picking up the straight line in which it lies. The following notes were made during a walk along it in September 1921.

On leaving Birdoswald it crosses Midgeholme Moss, the natural defence of Birdoswald to the northward. Excava-

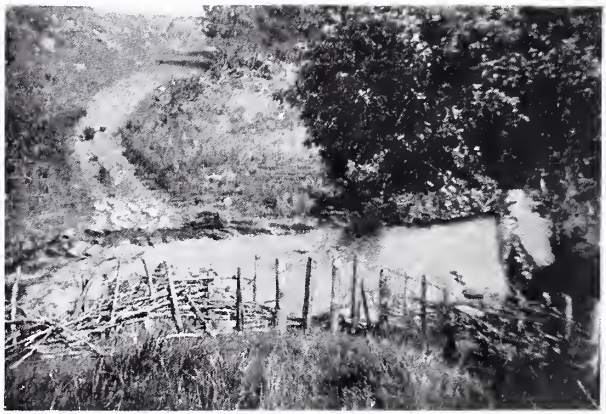


Fig. 5: The Butt.
Fig. 4: Slittery Ford.

To face p. 179

tion here would perhaps reveal a corduroy causeway like that found in the marshes of Ambleside twenty years ago. Climbing out of the moss and ascending a ridge it soon becomes plainly visible as a causeway running across the open moorland of Waterhead Common ; on the summit of the ridge, about 600 feet above sea-level, it is flanked on the left by a fence-wall which helps to indicate its line. Where it leaves this fence-wall behind, it descends sharply into a flattish field, S. and S.-W. of Snowden Close ; and here its line is no longer clear on the ground. The 6-inch O.S. map (Cumberland sheet xii N.E.) makes it turn very slightly to the right so as to cross the King Water 100 yards above the modern ford ; the 1-inch O.S. map makes it go straight on to the modern ford itself. The 1-inch map seems to be correct. The ford (Slittery Ford) is a good natural crossing, where flat slabs of rock give a firm and level bottom ; in low water you cross almost dry-shod. The approach to it is easy, and the opposite (right) bank, which is steep, is ascended obliquely by an artificial ramp which leads the road upstream for a hundred yards before it comes out on the top of the bank. At this point the Roman road picks up its old direction and becomes plainly visible, running, not in its former line, but in a line parallel to it. The 6-inch map makes the road reach this point by a direct ascent of the steep bank, which is very improbable on general grounds and not supported, so far as I can see, by any indications on the ground ; and I believe that the ramp mentioned above is Roman in origin, as it certainly is in type.

For half a mile the road is extremely clear, long consecutive rows of kerbstones being exposed, and both kerbs sometimes visible at once. After passing Highstead Ash it dips into the valley of Farmal Sike, where recent drainage-cuttings have exposed it repeatedly to view. As the road climbs out of this little valley, it passes a number of quarries at about the 600-foot contour-line. Some of

these may have been worked in modern times to get material for fence-walls ; but they appear to be of Roman origin and intended to supply road-metal. I examined them in vain for rock-inscriptions of any earlier date than a conspicuous " J.B." and " W.S."

Crossing another ridge, where the track of the road is fairly plain, it descends slightly into the valley of Ash Moss, where again recent drainage-cuts show it well from time to time. We are now three miles from Birdoswald. Entering a patch of cleared ground, the road skirts the farm of Spadeadam, traverses two plantations, and proceeds again uphill across the slopes of Gillalees Beacon. Here, not far from the 900-foot contour line, is a very conspicuous quarry marked on the 6-inch O.S. map (Cumberland viii S.E.) as " The Butt." There are no fence-walls or any other modern structures within a considerable distance, and it seems evident that its purpose can only be to supply material for the Roman road, which passes within a few feet of it. It shows vertical faces up to about 8 feet high, none of which, however, yielded any trace of rock-inscriptions.

A mile beyond Spadeadam the top is reached, and for half a mile the road crosses an undulating plateau, attaining an elevation of just over 1,000 feet before it begins the steep descent into the Bewcastle basin. At first it can be followed, but it soon loses itself and its line cannot be recovered with certainty till within half a mile of Bewcastle, where it is evidently represented by the straight length of modern road for about 700 yards S. of Shopford. There is reason to believe that it forded the Kirk Beck where the modern bridge stands, and approached the fort much as it does now.

It has often been supposed that after reaching Bewcastle the Maiden Way continued north into Scotland. Whether it really did so is more than doubtful. The Romans had one road into Scotland over the Cheviot,

leading from the military base of Corbridge by the forts of Risingham and High Rochester to the great fort at Newstead on the Tweed; that, during the two periods when the Romans held sway north of the Border, was their main line, first in Agricola's time and for perhaps twenty years or more after his recall; secondly in the reigns of Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius, between the first building and the final wreck of the Turf Wall between Forth and Clyde. This was a good road, properly studded with garrisons, and not venturing unnecessarily into difficult country. If they wanted a second line they had it in Annandale and Strathclyde, a line whose first stage was marked by the fort at Birrens in Dumfriesshire, though it is not certain that it was ever in regular use. And further, these two roads were connected by a cross-road using the upper Tweed valley, connecting Newstead with Carstairs and defended by the fort at Lyne near Peebles.

If, therefore, it is suggested that in addition to these Scottish roads the Romans made another by way of Bewcastle, we must ask three questions: Why should they want a road here? Are there visible traces of it? and, By what forts was it defended?

None of these questions can be convincingly answered. There is no possible motive for constructing a "through" road across the Border by Bewcastle, over extremely wild country and with nothing to serve either as a natural line or as a natural objective. The Maiden Way from Birdoswald to Bewcastle is surely a "branch line" giving the directest possible communication between the Wall and an outlying fort; not the first stage of a main road into Scotland. Further, such a road ought to be visible; but it is not. The late Mr. Maughan thought he could recognise it, but later inquirers have discredited even the slight traces which he believed himself to have found. And finally, it is impossible to believe that such a road

would be worse defended than Dere Street. The Romans did not build military roads through wild and hostile country without defending them with a series of forts; and in such country as lies north of Bewcastle the traces of Roman earthworks do not disappear.

For the present, until traces of a stone-built causeway defended by fortifications of the Roman type come to light, we can only assume that Bewcastle was the terminus of the Maiden Way; an outpost, not the first stage on a northward road.

III. Inscriptions.

Nine inscriptions are recorded to have been found at Bewcastle, of which no less than six appear to be destroyed or lost, though of these six four were in existence in the nineteenth century. Of the three survivors two are safely lodged in Tullie House; the third I saw in 1921 in the vicar's garden and ventured to suggest that it should be housed in the church, so as to avoid the fate of too many of its fellows. Six of the stones are in C.I.L. vii; but on most of them there seems to be something fresh to say, and the whole nine have never been published together; I therefore append here a discussion of the whole series. Something has already been said in Part I about their bearing on the history of the fort.

1. Altar (?) seen by Hutchinson over the gate of the public-house yard: has not been seen by anyone else.

I O M | COH I DAC. I... | ƆATLE...T CENTVR | ƆFECITƆ...

'To Jupiter best and greatest, the first cohort of Dacians...'

L. 3 seems to be hopelessly corrupt. Indeed there is some doubt about the whole reading. The First Cohort of Dacians nowhere else omits its title "Aelia," and it has left no other inscription anywhere but at Birdoswald. Bearing this in mind it seems probable that we ought to read I O M COH. I. ...[name lost] CVI PRAEEST ...[name lost]TRIB CENTVRIO LEGIONIS .. FECIT '... dedicated by the First Cohort of ... under the command of So-and-so, tribune, centurion of the ..th Legion.' The command of an auxiliary cohort was generally taken by a legionary cen-

turion (though Nos. 3 and 4 give examples of other ways of filling such a post); the word *Centurio* is usually represented by the symbol ɔ, but its being written out in full is not unexampled; and curiously enough the only other case in Britain is also from Bewcastle (No. 5).

The lost name of the cohort would have told us what regiment was in garrison at Bewcastle. The only thing about it of which we can be sure is that it was a milliary cohort, 1,000 strong; that is clear from the fact that it was commanded by a tribune, since cohorts of 500 were commanded by prefects. For this reason we cannot suggest the tempting interpretation COH I DAL[MATARVM], a cohort which was at one time at Maryport, because we know that this was commanded by a prefect (see *e.g.*, C.I.L. vii, 387). Another conjecture would be COH I THRAC[VM] a cohort which we meet on inscriptions at Bowes in Yorkshire and at Newcastle. No conjecture, however, can be supported by argument.

2. Altar (upper part of), found by Maughan in 1852; probably identical with one recorded by Horsley as broken and lost by his time. Now, apparently, lost again.

I O M | DOLICHENO | TEMPLVM ASC[| ...PRO S[E ET SVIS...

"So-and-so built a temple to Jupiter Dolichenus best and greatest, for himself and his people."

C.I.L. vii, 976.

Jupiter of Doliche (in Commagene on the upper Euphrates) was much worshipped in the Roman army. In l. 3 the end may be A S[OLO], "from the ground"; l. 4 is part of a common formula used when a dedicator discharges a vow in return for his own and his family's welfare.

3. Altar, 27 inches by 16 inches, found 1898; now at Tullie House, Carlisle.

DEO SANCTO COCIDIO | Q PELTRASIVS | MAXIMVS TRIB | EX CORNICVLARIO | PRAEFF PRAETORIO EE | MMVV V S L M

'(Dedicated) to the holy god Cocidius (by) Quintus Peltrasius Maximus, tribune, formerly clerk to their Eminences the Prefects of the Praetorium.'

Eph. Epigr. ix, 1227.

Q. Peltrasius Maximus (the *nomen* Peltrasius appears to be unique) was tribune in command of the garrison at Bewcastle; he had been appointed to the regiment after serving as clerk or registrar in the office of the Praetorian Prefects at Rome. EEMMVV is, of course, the plural of EMV 'eminentissimus vir.' The date of the inscription is probably third century; Haverfield (*Eph. Epigr.* as above) suggests the reign of Severus Alexander or

Gordian (222—238) as probable. The style of the lettering, with its numerous miniature letters, is remarkable.

4. Altar, 21 inches by 12 inches, found in 1792; now at Tullie House, Carlisle.

SANCTO CO | CIDEO AVRVNC | FELICESSE | MVS TRIBVN | EX EVOCATO | V. S. L. M. 'To holy Cocidius, Aurunc(ius) Felicissimus, tribune, formerly *evocatus*, pays a vow.'

C.I.L. vii, 974; L.S. 732.

An *evocatus* was a time-expired soldier who re-entered the army as a volunteer; such a man was likely to be a good soldier, and in this case we find one rising to the command of a regiment.

5. Altar, 20 inches by 9 inches, found north of the fort. Now apparently lost.

DEO | SANCTO | COCIDI[O] | ANNIVS | VICTOR | CENTVR | LEGION[IS] | [S]EX[T]A[E] "To the holy god Cocidius (dedicated by) Annius Victor, Centurion of the Sixth Legion."

Eph. Epigr. iii, 113; L.S. 735.

The writing-out in full of what is generally written D LEG VI is most remarkable; so much so that Hübner (*Eph. Epigr. ad loc.*) insisted that Bruce must have misread the altar. See No. 1. Annius Victor was probably the officer commanding the garrison at Bewcastle.

6. Altar, found 1812 and in that year "in the possession of the curate"; now apparently lost.

DEO MA | RTI COCID | SANCTO AELIV | VITALIANVS | D D L M "To the holy god Mars Cocidius, Aelius Vitalianus gives (this altar)."

Maughan, *Memoir*; C.I.L. vii, 977 (incorrect).

7. Top of an altar, found in the Kirk Beck. Now in the vicarage garden. D E O | ... "To the god..." The rest is lost.

Eph. Epigr. iii, 114; L.S. 734.

Probably part of a dedication like Nos. 3 to 6, to Cocidius, who seems to have been the favourite god at Bewcastle.

8. Slab found in digging a grave and later preserved in the churchyard, where Horsley saw it; in the century following Horsley's work it was lost or destroyed.

CAES TRA... | ..... | ...LE]GIIAVG ET XXV[V]... | ... IICNC.IR... | ...V...PR PR

C.I.L. vii, 978.

This was clearly a dedicatory slab stating that the Second and Twentieth legions or a vexillation of them built something in the reign of Hadrian under So-and-so, *legatus Augusti pro praetore* (Imperial Governor of Britain). The name of the legate is hope-

lessly lost; Licinius Priscus has been suggested, but he was legate in A.D. 161-2, which is too late by thirty or forty years.

9. Building-stone seen lying in the church by Bainbrigg: LEG.II.AVG.FECIT. "Built by the Second Legion, the Emperor's Own."

C.I.L. vii, 979.

Camden thought this stone had been brought to Bewcastle from somewhere else; Horsley on the contrary, a century or more later, thought that it had been brought in the interval from Bewcastle to Naworth where he saw a stone so inscribed. But neither opinion is convincing. Camden doubtless thought it was a building-stone from Hadrian's Wall; but who would have brought such a stone eight or ten miles to Bewcastle? The stone seen by Horsley at Naworth really must have come from the Wall. There can be no doubt that the stone seen by Bainbrigg belonged to Bewcastle and indicated the erection of that fort by the Second Legion; for any piece of work smaller than the whole fort would hardly be signed by the legion as a whole; rather by a vexillation or a cohort.

ART. XIX.—*Bewcastle.* By JOHN F. CURWEN, F.S.A.

Read at the site, September 13th, 1921.

IT is generally agreed that the name "Bewcastle" is derived from Bueth's castle, but we must note that the dale is not known as Bueth's dale or Bewdale: it is Bueth's castle-dale, Bewcastle dale, or the dale overshadowed by the castle. On the contrary, the barony named after Gilles, the son of Bueth,—Gilsland—was not called Gilles' castle-land because his castle was here in the adjoining barony of Burgh. From the territorial importance of these two great Norse landowners we shall naturally look for a fortress of some considerable pretension and strength.

Denton says, "I read of one Beweth a Cumberland man, about the time of the conquest. He builded Bewcastle and was Lord of Buecastle Dale"; and again, "the castle there built by one Bewth.... Antiently it was the seat of the said Beweth."* Nicolson and Burn (ii, 476) say, Bueth "repaired a Roman castle here and called it after his own name."

We can never tell exactly what he did or how his castle appeared but it seems certain that he took full advantage of the great fosse at the north-eastern angle of the Roman station, and that, at a distance of some 60 yards from either side, he cut two cross-ditches so as to enclose and isolate a squared corner. The excavated earth from the ditches would be thrown up within the area and upon this raised plateau he would erect his buildings of wood—a series of grouped dwellings situated around a central hall. For some 200 years such a timber castle would develop as

* John Denton, *Estates and Families,* 1610, pp. 129, 146.

necessity required; frequently it would be attacked, perhaps sometimes burnt but always repaired again to withstand, be it remembered, the *English* enemy.

Then, and in consequence of the development in the art of war, stone defences became necessary. It was obviously impossible to build a massive stone keep upon an artificially raised mound, so here we find, within the palisade, a stone wall built up high enough and strong enough to itself act as a keep—a Shell-Keep. The late Rev. John Maughan said, "there is no date known for the erection of this castle, but the cement shows it to be of ancient construction" (*Arch. Journal*, xi, 126); and the late Chancellor Ferguson thought that it was built by William Rufus to protect his newly acquired district of Carlisle from incursion by the Maiden Way (*Hist. Cumb.* p. 140). Against these two theories we shall have to note that there is no Norman masonry apparent.

The Register of Wetheral and the various Cumberland histories tell how the manor, without any mention of the castle, descended to Sir John de Swynburne, and how he obtained (1279) a license to hold a weekly market and two yearly fairs here (*Cal. Charter Rolls*, 7 Edw. I., 213)—negative information about the castle, but showing that the dale must have been of greater importance in those days than it is possible for the present generation to realize.

By the year 1293 Inglewood Forest and the whole of Cumberland had become a portion of the English kingdom. Three years later (1296) the manor of Bewcastle was seized by King Edward I., because of the attachment which Sir Adam de Swynburne continued to show toward John de Balliol, King of Scots, and because of his sympathy with the Franco-Scottish league against England. From this date the manor continued in the hands of the English Crown.

Now, did Edward I., the great castle-builder, cause

this Shell-Keep to be built, in order to strengthen his flank, as he marched through hostile territory, during the many years of his warfare against the northern kingdom? To my mind this seems to be the most likely period for its erection, but yet I am bound to point out that there are no architectural details of buttress, angle-turret, pointed-arch, loop-hole or mullioned window, remaining of this early date. Indeed, the only architectural features about the place are of Tudor date.

Again, it is a very curious fact that during the hundred years of warfare for Scottish independence, when Gilsland was continually overrun and everything destroyed by Wallace, Robert and Edward Bruce, the Black Douglas and even by King David, we have no history of Bewcastle, neither is the castle, which lay right in their way, even mentioned in the State Papers of either side.

The first mention that I can find is in the year 1401 (September 1) when King Henry IV. wrote to his chancellor as follows:—"As the castle of Bothe belonging to John de Middleton, was lately, from default of good governance, taken by the Scots, and John with Christiana his mother made prisoners, spoiled and robbed by them, but soon after, by the aid of God and their cousins and friends, they regained and now hold the castle, the king has pardoned them, and permits Christiana to hold the castle for life, and John her son after her death, and commands letters accordingly" (*Cal. Doc. Scot.*, iv, 121).

In 1470 Edward IV. granted the manor and castle, which had long lain waste, to his brother Richard, Duke of Gloucester, who was then Lord Warden of the Western Marches, and we find that Richard sub-let them to four men, Cuthbert and John Routledge, Robert Elwald and Gerard Nixon, who paid no rent but were to maintain the king's wars and who pertained to the Captains of the Castle under the king (*Cal. St. Papers*, Hen. VIII., xiii, 553; *Trans.* N.S., xi, 245). From this time forward the castle

was under the governance of Constables and it was maintained as an outpost from Carlisle to guard against forays from Liddesdale.

I hope to append some notes concerning the castle during the 16th century, but let us round off the history now by quoting a paper, dated 1583,—" Beaucastle, her Majesties owne, which hathe bene and should be the chiefe and onlie defence of that border, but that yt is now allmoste brought to ruyn.....by reason of the deadlie feude and grate hatrede betwene the Greimes and the Musgraves" (*Cal. Bord. Papers*, 1560–94, p. 168). In 1603 the garrison was reduced by James I. on his accession to the English Crown, when the *Survey of the Debateable Lands* reports that " The King's Majesties house, the castle, is in great ruin and decaye in such sorte that there is not anye roome thereof wherein a man maye sytt drye." During the Covenant revolution in Scotland, Rushworth (ii, 929) says that one hundred men were garrisoned in Bewcastle (1639) to face some 20,000 well equipped troops under Genl. Leslie but that when King Charles yielded to Scottish liberty the garrison was withdrawn to Carlisle and the castle dismantled. But Hutchinson, who is probably not so correct, says:— " the castle was destroyed by the parliament's forces (1641), by whose fury many of the ancient fortresses were laid in ruins" (Hist. Cumb. i, 78).

As I have said, the form of this castle is known as a Shell-Keep, *i.e.* its chief defence consisted of an outer shell wall, 6½ feet thick, and 91 feet square, with a rampart and battlements running right round on the top. Within, a range of buildings leant up against it, surrounding a small courtyard open to the sky. From all appearances these lean-to buildings consisted of a low, verandah-like basement with a frontage open to the courtyard, and two storeys above. The first storey might be occupied by the garrison, with windows opening only into the courtyard;

while the second storey, where we find the remains of fireplaces and windows piercing the outer walls, would be occupied as the Constable's domestic quarters.

When a raid was signalled by the beacon fires, the cattle would be driven into the courtyard and open basements; but after the castle was dismantled, we can well understand how easily the lintels over these basement frontages were removed, and how the upper floors fell without leaving any foundations or cross walls to tell us to-day of their former existence.

The south wall is the best preserved, as it retains most of its facing stones above the boldly splayed plinth. It stands about 30 feet high and, on the outside, at the second floor level, we notice a small set-off with two windows above it. But these windows are of Tudor date.

Between the windows are two fireplaces with short flues sloping backward from the hearthstone and outward to a small hole pierced in the external face of the wall. These are very interesting specimens of a smoke-flue, and I only know of two others in our district—one at Millom castle and one at Piel castle. Of course, the object in sending the smoke through the external face of the wall was to avoid the necessity of taking a chimney-stack up through the rampart walk and thus blocking, to the men-at-arms, the free passage round the walls. It would seem that when flues had to be introduced into castles, it was always a difficult problem how best to dispose of them. At first they were not allowed to be carried higher than the parapet, and at Lincoln, Aslackby and Aydon castles we find them taken up through ornamental turrets that projected from the external face of the wall. Then, with a further development, we find them at Maxstoke and at Yanwath Hall, rising above the parapet, but so cleverly contrived as to be out of the way in the thickness of the battlements.

The very presence of these fireplaces, recessed into the

wall and with chimney-flues arising from them, bespeaks a date not earlier than the beginning of the 15th century—and, if we are to trust Leland, writing a little before the middle of the 16th century, they were not by any means common then. He says the "elegant and commodious tube, now known by the name of a chimney" was first introduced into the castles of Kenilworth, Conway and Bolton, and speaking of the latter castle, he says, "One thinge I muche notyd in the Haulle of Bolton, how Chimeneys were conveyed by Tunnells made on the Syds of the Wauls bytwixt the Lights in the Haull; and by this meanes is the Smoke of the Harthe in the Hawle wonder strangly convayed" (*Itinerary*, edit. Hearne, viii, fol. 66*b*).

The east and north walls have lost both their external and internal faces and unfortunately the whole corner has fallen to the ground. Whether this corner contained the newel staircase connecting the floors together, or whether it was honeycombed with garderobe passages—both necessary features, both now entirely absent and both causing a certain weakness to the structure—we cannot say.

The west wall is in better preservation and it shows the remains of the same plinth and set off on the second floor level. The main feature of this elevation, however, is the Gatehouse, which is placed up against it. Except for a few stones it is not bonded into the shell and yet the masonry seems to be of the same period and the same deeply splayed plinth surrounds it.

To understand the defence of the entrance we must first of all realize that the moat was of no value unless supported by a palisade, or some sort of cover for the defenders, upon the inner bank. Then from the report of an affray in 1531, when a Musgrave, having killed an Armstrong, fled back to Bewcastle and was only just saved by the quick lifting of the drawbridge (*Cal. Letters*

and Papers, Henry VIII., v, 225), we learn that there *was* a drawbridge across the moat. If there was a drawbridge then there must have been also an outer gateway for the working of the drawbridge, opening into the outer court between the palisade and the Keep. The way would then mount by a steep approach to the barbican, the walls of which still project northward from the Gatehouse. There has been no portcullis; but double gates, 7 feet wide and secured by two drawbeams, sliding in the thickness of the outer wall, effectually closed the entrance. Within, a second gateway pierced the main wall. This also has been 7 feet wide, *i.e.* wide enough to drive cattle through but too wide for purely military defence. Although the arch has now fallen, Dr. Taylor spoke of it as being a flat four-centred arch, which again denotes the Tudor period.

Opposite to it, in the western wall of the gatehouse, there is a mural stairway leading up to a passage in the southern wall and to a garderobe. From the passage two loop-holes overlook the interior for the defence of the outer gate. But I want you to note that the passage does not extend the full length of the southern wall, so that I imagine a newel staircase, mounting to the rooms above, filled the remaining space.

In conclusion, it would seem evident that whatever was the original cause for, and date of, the erection of this stone castle, it has been remodelled very considerably during the 16th century, and at a time when the Musgraves, as Constables of Bewcastle, carried on a deadly feud with the Armstrongs and Grahams of Liddesdale—a feud which lasted from generation to generation.

Appendix of Additional References.

1278.—According to Prescott's *Register of Wetherhal*, p. 202, the manor of Buchecastre appears to have been in the hands of Richard de Levington; after his death it passed to Juliana de Carrig, one of his six sisters; and her daughters

Matildis and Emma, sold Bothecastre "before the war" to Sir John de Swynburne, c. 1278.

By the year 1296 the manor had passed to Sir Adam de Swynburne, but on account of his attachment to John de Balliol, late King of Scots, the manor was seized by King Edward I. (*Cal. Doc. Scot.* ii, 172).

In 1298 the Scots, after burning Hexham, returned thro' Gilsland devastating the whole country side.

In 1318 Sir Adam held Bewcastle (*Cal. Inq. p.m.* 12 Edw. II., 290) and in 1326 Adam was the tenant of the manor (*Cal. Inq. p.m.* 20 Edw. II., 334).

1327.—Barnaba, dau. and coheiress of the said Sir Adam, tenant-in-chief of the late king, was granted seisin of the manor of Bewcastle (*Cal. Close Rolls*, 1 Edw. III., p. 8).

In 1333 Lord Douglas made great ravages here.

By the year 1338, both Sir Adam and his son Henry were dead, whereupon Barnaba, wife of Sir John de Strivelyn (Stirling) succeeded to Bothecastre. She was living in 1357, when K. Edw. III, on account of the good services of her husband, restored to her all her lands in Cumberland and pardoned her for all felonies committed by her father or ancestors (*Cal. Doc. Scot.*, iv, p. 2).

1346.—The district was again pillaged.

1514, Feb. 18.—Grant in survivorship to Sir John Musgrave and Thomas his son of the offices of Constable of the castle of Bewcastle and chief forester of Nicholforest, with a grant of certain lands lately belonging to Sir John de Middleton, for the repair of the said castle (*Cal. St. Pap.* Henry VIII., i, 746 and ii, 285).

1514. Feb. 27.—William and Christopher Dacre writing to Lord Dacre say—"Jak (Sir John) Musgrave took James Nowble called 'Yellow Hair' and kept him in Bewcastle two days and let him go at the desire of Clement Nixon" (*Cal. St. Papers*).

1515, Oct. 28.—Grant for Thomas Musgrave to be constable of Bewcastle and chief forester of Nichol forest; his father probably deceased (*Cal. St. Papers*).

1517, June 21.—Dacre to Wolsey. He is glad that the King is satisfied with his suggestions for fortifying the borders, rebuilding Wark and removing Bewcastle; but he desires some office to be provided for Thomas Musgrave that the fee which he now has amounting to £70 p. an. etc. (*Cal. St. Papers*).

1527, December.—William, Lord Dacre was made constable and chief forester on the vacation of these offices by Thomas Musgrave (*Cal. St. Pap.*, Henry VIII., iv, p. 1672).

1528, April 2.—William, Lord Dacre to Wolsey. He notes that Wolsey had spoken with Thomas Musgrave to deliver Bewcastle to him, but it is in such decay that no man can dwell there for Thomas Musgrave has spoiled it, taken away all the lead and broken the glass windows. He begs Wolsey will get Musgrave to surrender his patent (*Cal. St. Pap.* Henry VIII., iv., pp. 1672 and 1827).

1531, April 24.—Grant to Sir William Musgrave of the offices of Constable and Chief forester (*Cal. St. Papers*, Henry VIII., v, 106).

1532, October 6.—Lord William Dacre writing to Cromwell says that he has received £500 from Sir George Lawson for works of Carlisle and that he has given £100 of it to Sir William Musgrave for certain repairs at Bewcastle (*Cal. St. Pap.* Henry VIII., v, 596).

1536.—Jack Musgrave was deputy to Sir William Musgrave in his office of Captain during the eventful period of the "Pilgrimage of Grace."

1537.—The Duke of Norfolk writing to Cromwell says that Sir William Musgrave who had the rule in Bewcastle lives at London and Jack à Musgrave, a bastard, is his deputy, a tall (*i.e.* brave) hardy man but not meet to have the rule of so many ill men (*Cal. St. Pap.* Henry VIII., xii, pt 2, page 86).

1539.—"Bowe Castel longing to the King x myles est fro Cairluel" (Leland, vii, fol. 72).

1544.—John Musgrave, the King's servant, was appointed constable, with the same rents from Bewcastle dale as Sir John Middleton had (*Cal. St. Papers*, Henry VIII., xix, pt 2, 418).

1567.—Thomas Musgrave of Plumpton held the office of Captain of Bewcastle. In the same year we find Leonard Musgrave of Cumcatch describing himself as deputy Captain (*Cal. St. Pap. Dom. Add.* Eliz. p. 35).

1570.—Sir Simon Musgrave, a younger brother of Sir William, succeeded as constable and he had his own son Thomas as deputy (*Cal. St. Pap. Dom. Add.* Eliz., p. 429).

1580.—Christopher Dacre's survey on the state of the Border says:—"This howse or castel doth belonge to her Maty Standinge about 3 myles frō Scotl., a place of greate

defence for y^t p^te of ye border, if ye same were sufficiently repaired. The charges of wch reparacon is esteamed to cc*li* beside ye new castinge of ye moote and an old decayed wall within and about the same, wch is thought may be spared till a greater necessyty" (*Cal. St. Pap. Dom. Add.*, 1580; also *Cal. Border Pap.*, 1560–94, p. 32).

1583.—John Musgrave and Marmaduke Staveley, gentlemen deputies to Sir Simon Musgrave, constable.

1583, Sep. 28.—Scrope writes to Walsingham that "manye and almoste nightlie attemptates have been committed in Bewcastle and elsewhere within this wardenrie, as well by the Liddesdales as also by the west wardenrie of Scotlande, speciallie Kynmonte his sonnes and complices."

1584, June 12.—Scrope to Walsingham. "Before your letter to stay Thomas Musgrave's appointment to Bewcastle reached me, his father had placed him there, and his brother is now departed from thence."

1586, June 16. —Sir Simon Musgrave to the Council. "I have stayed my son Thomas from executing the office of Bewcastle till your further pleasure..... For my sonne Thomas, yf yt will please your lordships to accepte of hym as officer there, I will pawne both my credytt and livinge for hym, that he shall serve that place, as sufficiently for the service of her Majestie, and be as diligentt to please my Lord Scrope as any officer ther this many yeares. I have bene officer ther this xxx^ti yeares.... nowe I am olde and woulde be at som staye" (*Cal. Border Pap.*, 1560–94, p. 227).

1590.—The Queen granted to Sir Simon Musgrave and Thomas his son for the term of their two lives the office of Captains of Bewcastle.

1592.—Captain Thomas entertained Bothwell here in 1592 (*Cal. St. Pap. Scotland*, p. 610).

1593.—"A place of great defence" (Alex. King's Survey).

1595, Nov. 17.—Sir William Bowes is prepared to accept the office of Constable. If her Majesty please "to grace mee with this note of hir favour" by placing me there, I persuade myself that this bettering my estate, with the good opinion of the lord wardens in the West and Middle Marches, the place so suitable to procure concurrency in their services, and my experience profiting them both, might produce effects to her Majesty's liking and the

benefit of both countries (*Cal. Border Papers*, 1595—1603, p. 70).

1602.—Thomas Musgrave fell out with his neighbour at Askerton, Lancelot Carleton, who charged before the Privy Council that Thomas had offered to deliver the castle to the Scots, that whereas her Majesty doth yearly bestow a great fee upon Thomas as Captain to aid and defend her Majesty's subjects, he hath neglected his duty for that Bewcastle was by him made a den of thieves and a harbour for murderers, felons, etc. Thereupon it was agreed between them to have the controversy openly tried by way of combat in Canonby Holme upon Thursday in Easter week, being the 8th day of April 1602. Probably the combat was prevented by the Queen's illness and death. (See also *Hist. MSS. Com.*, 10*th Report*, 265).

Camden speaks of it as a castle "of the King's," and defended by a small garrison, so that the Musgraves held it probably under the Crown, to withstand the incessant invasions of the Armstrongs of Whitehaugh.

1603.—The garrison was reduced by James I. on his accession to the English Crown.

1604.—"The King's Majesties house, the castle, is in great ruin and decaye in suche sorte that there is not anye roome thereof wherein a man maye sytt drye; so that 300*li* will scarce repair the same in anie reasonable sorte." (*Survey of the Debateable Lands.*)

1606, June 28.—Thos. Musgrave was still captain of Bewcastle.

1607, June 4.—Thos Musgrave reappointed for life as Constable by James I (*Cal. St. Pap.*, 1603–10, p. 360).

1608, Feb. 15.—Grant to William Pinches, in reversion after Thomas Musgrave of the Keeping of Bewcastle (*Cal. St. Pap. Dom.*, 1603–10, p. 405).

1614.—James I. leased to Francis Earl of Cumberland for a term of 40 years, the castle and lands of Bewcastle "formerly kept by an officer" (*Cal. St. Pap.*, 1611–18, 242) and thus ended the long connection of the Musgrave family with this ancient border fortress.

1629.—Charles I. granted to Sir Richard Graham of Esk the castle of Bewcastle to hold of the King in capite (Nicolson and Burn, ii, 476).

1695.—In Bp. Gibson's 1st edition of Camden we read "a castle of the kings, which in those solitary parts is defended by a small garrison." But here the edition could not have been

brought up to date. In the edition of 1725, the Bishop's note reads, "This was the former state; but since the happy union of the two Kingdoms in King James the First, and much more since that under her Majesty Queen Anne, all these Feuds and Quarrels upon the Border are ceased; and one lives there with as much security, as in any other place whatsoever."

CONSTABLES OF BEWCASTLE.

1478.—Cuthbert Routledge, John Routledge, Robert Elwald, Gerard Nixon.
1514.—Sir John Musgrave, Thomas his son.
1515-27.—Thomas Musgrave.
1527.—William, Lord Dacre.
1531.—Sir William Musgrave. 1536.—Jack Musgrave, a bastard, deputy to Sir William.
1544.—John Musgrave.
1567.—Thomas Musgrave of Plumpton. 1567.—Leonard Musgrave of Cumcatch.
1570.—Sir Simon Musgrave. 1570.—His son Thomas as deputy. 1583.—John Musgrave, Marmaduke Staveley.
1590.—Sir Simon Musgrave, Thomas his son.
1607.—Thomas Musgrave.
1614.—Earl of Cumberland.
1629.—Sir Richard Graham.

ART. XX.—*Castlesteads.* By R. G. COLLINGWOOD, M.A., F.S.A.

Read at the site, September 13th, 1921.

I. THE FORT.

THE Roman station generally known as Castlesteads* is the thirteenth, counting from east to west, on the line of Hadrian's Wall. In the list of Wall stations given in the *Notitia Dignitatum* the thirteenth is Petrianae, garrisoned by the Ala Petriana. Now the first twelve stations in this list, from Segedunum to Amboglanna, are identified with the first twelve mural forts known to us, from Wallsend to Birdoswald. As to these identifications there can be no doubt: the coincidence of the names of regiments in garrison given by the *Notitia* with the names of regiments dedicating inscriptions found in the forts is, taken as a whole, absolutely conclusive proof. Where twelve identifications are certain it may seem legitimate to jump to the thirteenth and ascribe to Castlesteads the name Petrianae. But though so great a man as Horsley took this step it is certainly wrong. The next names after Petrianae in the *Notitia* are Aballaba and Axelodunum. These are identified with Papcastle and Maryport, and there is no reasonable doubt that the identification is correct: and this proves that by the time the list reaches Aballaba it has left the wall and reappeared in West Cumberland. Does this breach of continuity occur before or after the name Petrianae?

It is almost certain that it occurs before: since the

* Horsley calls it Cambeckfort; but the name Castlesteads, though only a generic name for a ruined fortification and occurring elsewhere, is now too well established to cause confusion.

Ala Petriana appears to be identical with the Ala Augusta *milliaria torquata civium Romanorum ob virtutem appellata* which lay in garrison at Old Carlisle. In that case, Old Carlisle is Petrianae, and after breaking off at Birdoswald the Notitia list begins again in west Cumberland at Old Carlisle and works down the coast. All the western Wall stations beginning at Castlesteads are omitted from it. Why this is so we cannot yet say with certainty. There are several views as to the date of this section of the *Notitia*: German scholars regard it as describing the state of things in existence about 300, but—since the *Notitia* was only compiled about 425, after the final breach between Britain and the Empire—it may be later. It may, for instance, describe the system established by Theodosius about 368, after the disaster of 367, which lasted till Maximus withdrew the troops in 383: or thirdly, it may even describe the Wall as re-garrisoned by Stilicho in 395, if (which is far from certain) Stilicho re-garrisoned the Wall forts at all.

Now, if the *Notitia* describes the state of the frontier *before* 383, the omission of the western end of the Wall can only be explained by mutilation of the original document, for Castlesteads, as its coins prove, was occupied till that date. It is still possible that the *Notitia* list is not fragmentary and dates from some period after 383 when the Wall was only held from Wallsend to Birdoswald, the western end being given up on account of the ease with which it could be outflanked by Scottish sea-raiders, and the Roman forces in this region concentrated on the Cumberland coast. It is in favour of this possibility that Castlesteads cannot as yet be proved to have been occupied after 383: but it is not certain that any Wall fort was occupied after that.

We have no information whatever concerning the Romano-British name of Castlesteads: we can only say that it does not appear in our ancient authorities.

Castlesteads shares with Carvoran and Chesterholm the peculiarity of being a Wall fort not touching the Wall. But on further examination its position is unique. Carvoran and Chesterholm are properly not Wall forts but Stanegate forts: they lie not on the line of the Wall, but on the line of Agricola's road from Carlisle to Corbridge, which we call the Stanegate: and this fact is emphasized by the way in which the Vallum passes to the north of them, whereas it skirts every other fort on the south. Till 1901, it was thought that Castlesteads too lay to the south of the Vallum, but in that and the following year

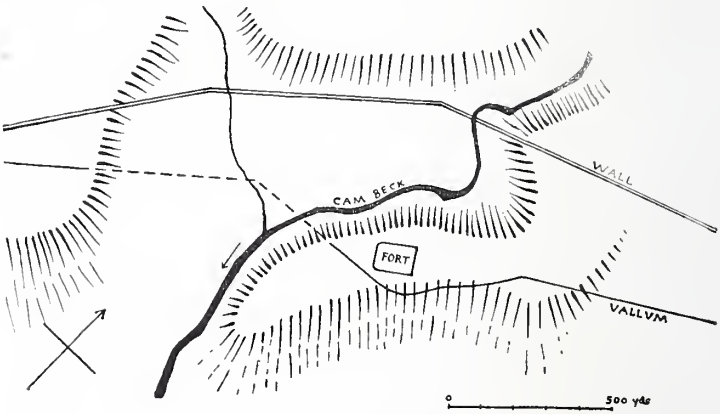


FIG. 1.—PLAN OF CASTLESTEADS.

Haverfield proved that the Vallum made a wide southward bend from its straight course so as to pass the fort on the south. Moreover, Castlesteads does not, as do Carvoran and Chesterholm, lie on the Stanegate, and therefore cannot like them be explained as a Stanegate fort dating from the period 79—120 and later reconstructed so as to form an element in the Hadrianic scheme of defence. The isolation of Castlesteads from the Wall, which passes 400 yards north of it, is therefore unique. It is, however, capable of explanation on the new theory

of the Wall which Mr. F. G. Simpson sets forth in this volume. If all the forts were first built as isolated works, connected only by the Vallum or legal frontier which, running close behind them, marked the division between *domi* and *militiae*, and if these isolated works were later connected by the Wall, it is evident that some forts might not be so accessible to a line of wall as others, and, in particular, that the Cambeck valley is easier for such a line to cross a quarter of a mile higher up than at Castlesteads itself, which stands on a tongue of land falling very steeply north-westwards to the beck.

There are no visible remains of the fort, everything having been destroyed in 1791 when the present grounds were laid out. At the same time half a mile of Hadrian's Wall adjacent to the fort was also destroyed. Of the structures then demolished only the barest fragments of information remain. Antiquaries of the time took pains to put on record a full account of the inscriptions brought to light, which were preserved, and none to describe the buildings which were destroyed.

In 1740, a hypocaust had been discovered, 15 by 27 ft., the floor of which was supported by stone pillars about 2ft. high, fixed in a bed of clay; shorter funnels of burnt clay were placed in quincunx form between every other row of the pedestals; there were over 100 of the stone pedestals, on which were laid stones an inch thick. Two rooms paved with *opus signinum* were found adjoining this hypocaust, whose furnace was identified; and a cold bath, with a sort of cistern 15 feet by 4 feet 6 ins., composed of large thick slates set edgeways and cemented together. This was obviously the bath of the fort, and is described in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1742, p. 76. But of the demolition in 1791 only two facts remain: that the dimensions of the fort were 130 yards by 100, and that a broad pavement of stones was found "a little out of the gate" (Lysons, *Magna Brit.*, vol. iv, *Cumber-*

land: pages c, cxlviii note. The article by Professor Carlisle in *Archaeologia* xi describes the finds—mostly inscriptions—and the construction of Hadrian's Wall as observed during the demolition of it: about the fort it says nothing).

The size, 130 by 100 yards or 2.7 acres (nearly) has always been accepted as correct, though we shall see that it raises a difficulty. The pavement outside the gate is probably a commoner feature than the silence of excavators would suggest: the present writer has found such external pavements at Ambleside and Papcastle, and is not aware that they have been looked for elsewhere. Further, the eccentric position of the fort with regard to the southward bend in the Vallum is a fact requiring explanation, and probably the fort was furnished with an annexe projecting eastwards, which being less strongly entrenched than the fort itself disappeared first. This explanation was suggested to the writer by Mr. F. G. Simpson.

The evidence of the remains then suggests a fort of 2½ acres with an annexe adjoining it on the east: this annexe being partly at least paved and containing, among other buildings, a bath-house of the usual type. In size the fort resembles a considerable group of structures designed to accommodate cohorts 500 strong. Of the inscriptions belonging to the fort two name the Fourth Cohort of Gauls, and four the Second Cohort of Tungrians,* in each case as if the regiment were the garrison of the fort. A change of garrison is not usual in such forts; but there are analogies for it, notably at Maryport and at forts along the Antonine Wall in Scotland. Here it seems evident that the Gaulish cohort preceded the Tungrian. The surviving inscription of the former is in style reminiscent of the second century:

* In the accompanying catalogue nos. 2, 30 are dedicated by the Fourth Gauls; nos. 1, 26, 29, 43 by the Second Tungrians. No. 26 is dated A.D. 241.

those of the latter, of the third, and their century is fixed also by the facts that one is dated to the year 241, and that in another the name Severus occurs twice, a name which became fashionable after the beginning of that century.

The Fourth Cohort of Gauls was 500 strong and furnished with a cavalry contingent (*equitata*). It was probably sent to Britain by Hadrian: and after being quartered at Castlesteads was employed in the Caledonian campaigns of Lollius Urbicus after 140, and may have been in garrison at Castlehill, close to the western end of the Antonine Wall. After this we trace it at Risingham in Northumberland, where it seems to have done building-work in the early third century, and lastly (for I omit tiles from Templeborough, which probably date from the very beginning of its British residence) it settled down at Chesterholm, where it has left three inscriptions, all apparently of the third century, and is located by the *Notitia Dignitatum*.

The Second Cohort of Tungrians was also equitate but was 1,000 strong. It was early in Britain—it fought under Agricola—and in the second century we find it at Birrens in Dumfriesshire, which fort it seems to have rebuilt in 158 and thereafter occupied till the disaster of 180.

Putting together the inscriptions and the coin-series we reconstruct the following history. Castlesteads was built in 121-2 as one of the chain of forts which, about 124, were linked up by the Wall. It was, perhaps, built by the Sixth Legion, and was garrisoned by the Fourth Gauls. That regiment may, twenty years later, have been moved to the Clyde, but if Castlesteads was abandoned it was soon reoccupied, either by the Gauls or by some other corps. After the great disaster of 181, it lay empty, like other forts: but when Severus reorganised the frontier about 210, he rebuilt it (perhaps by a vexilla-

tion of the Second Legion) and placed here the Second Tungrians, which knew the country because some time earlier they had been quartered at the now abandoned fort of Birrens. We know that about 270 the Wall was overtaken, after a period of peace, by a disaster: and the coin-series suggests that at Castlesteads this disaster was for some twenty years not made good. Carausius, who undertook a Caledonian war about 290, rebuilt the Wall forts and seems to have replaced a garrison at Castlesteads, possibly its old garrison, but on that subject we have no evidence, for no document later than the middle of the third century names the Second Tungrians. In any case, Castlesteads was now held continuously for 70 or 80 years, and was not, like the milecastles, evacuated when, about 330, the growing claims of the Saxon shore attracted troops away from the Wall. But in 367 came the great Pictish war, and Castlesteads, like the other forts, doubtless fell: but was rebuilt by Theodosius in 368, and abandoned, perhaps finally, by Maximus in 383.

In this history some points are rather probable than proved, and there is one grave difficulty. The Second Tungrians, which at Birrens required a fort four acres in extent (a usual size for a milliary cohort) cannot have been crowded into one of 2½ acres at Castlesteads. The traditional limits of the Castlesteads fort would suit the Gaulish cohort, but are impossible for the Tungrian. On the other hand the evidence for a Tungrian garrison—four inscriptions—is too good to be set aside with the hypothesis that the Tungrians merely visited Castlesteads to do rebuilding. This did sometimes happen: but it is difficult to think it can have happened here. If it did, we do not know who garrisoned Castlesteads in the third and fourth centuries: but we do know the date of its rebuilding, namely A.D. 241, which is at least twenty years later than analogy would lead us to expect. If, on the other hand, the Tungrians were in garrison at

Castlesteads (and, considering that the adjacent forts, Stanwix and Birdoswald, are sixteen miles apart, a milliary cohort seems urgently necessary) we must believe either that the traditional measurements of the fort are in error, or else that the fort visible before 1791 was not the Tungrians' fort of the period between Severus and Carausius but something else, perhaps a reduced fort occupied by an unknown cohort 500 strong in the late third and fourth centuries. Was the pavement seen outside the gate in 1791 an internal floor in a larger fort?

Alterations in the size of Wall forts are no novelty, but where we know them they took place very soon after the original building. If Castlesteads was first built small by Hadrian, then doubled in size by Severus and finally reduced to its original extent by Carausius, its history is indeed unique. But the problem is one which cannot be solved except by digging. A very short exploration would not only verify the plan of the fort but discover that of its annexes, if it ever had any, and of any alterations of size which it may have undergone. If it was never altered in size, the inference will be that the Tungrians were there not as garrison but, in spite of the number of the inscriptions, merely as builders. Even then we shall not be free of problems: for if we have four inscriptions of the Second Tungrians dating from a short visit to Castlesteads, why have we none at their permanent quarters, wherever these may have been?

II. The Inscribed Stones.

Of the forty-seven stones here collected, four do not belong to the site but are included for convenience because they are in the Castlesteads collection. This leaves the rather large number of forty-three stones belonging to the fort or its immediate surroundings. The size of the collection is chiefly due to the digging-up of the fort in 1791, when many inscribed and sculptured stones were found and preserved. I have grouped the entries under four heads: (A) Stones from Castlesteads

now preserved there ; (B) Stones from other sites in the Castlesteads collection ; (C) Stones from Castlesteads preserved elsewhere ; (D) Stones from Castlesteads now lost. The first two groups may thus serve as a catalogue of the Castlesteads collection, except for the uninscribed sculptures, with which I have not dealt. All the readings in these two groups are the result of my own examination of the stones in 1921, when I made full-sized drawings of all the inscriptions.

A. Stones from Castlesteads Preserved on the Spot.

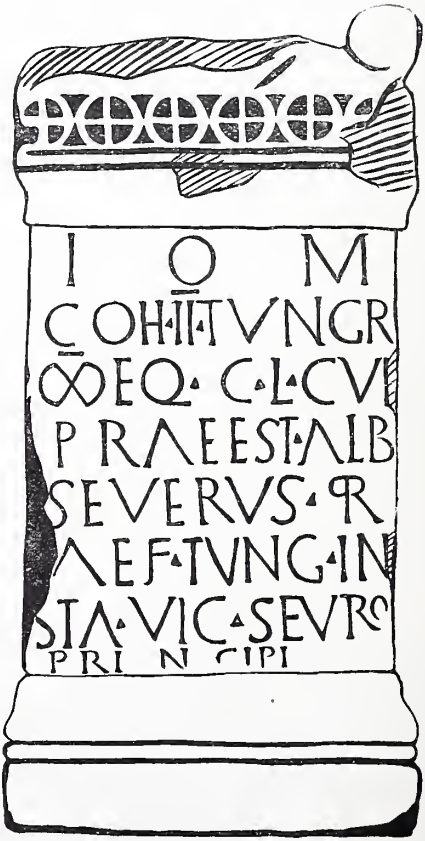


Fig. 2.—Altar from Castlesteads (no. 1). Scale $\frac{1}{12}$.

1. Altar, 4ft. 2 ins. × 2 ft. 1 in. found in 1818.

I O M | COH.II.TVNGR | ∞ EQ.C.L.CVI | PRAEEST. ALB | SEVERVS.PR | AEF.TVNG.IN | STA.VIC.SEVRO | PRINCIPI '(Dedicated) to Jupiter best and greatest (by) the Second Cohort of Tungrians, 1,000 strong, furnished with a cavalry contingent and holding the Latin citizenship, under the command of Alb(ius) Severus, Prefect of Tungrians; (executed) under the eye of Vic(cius) Severus, Senior Decurion.'

C.I.L. vii, 879; L.S. 424 (Fig.2).

In l. 7 the name was intended to be SEVERO, the ER tied back to back; but only the top horizontal of the E has been cut: the rest, inadvertently omitted, was no doubt painted on the stone. The history of the cohort is discussed above.

2. Altar, 2 ft. × 1 ft. 3 ins., well made and having a graceful egg-and-dart pattern above the panel. Found in the bed of the stream at Beck, half mile west of the fort, on the line of the Wall.

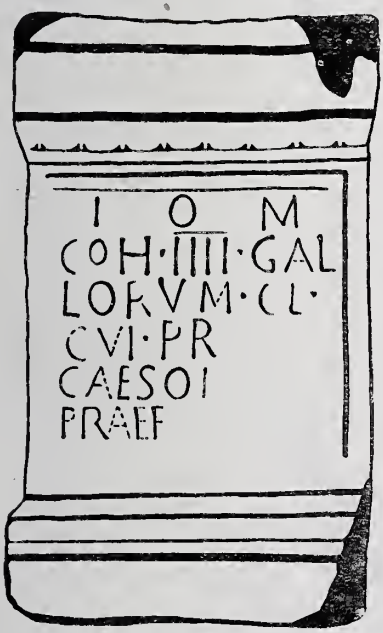


FIG. 3.—ALTAR FROM CASTLESTEADS (no. 2). Scale $\frac{1}{18}$.

I O M | COH.IIII.GAL | LORVM.[...]. | CVI.PR[AEEST] | CAESOI[...] | [P]R[A]EF[....] | [V S L M] 'To Jupiter best and greatest, (dedicated by) the Fourth Cohort of Gauls, under the command of Caesonius... prefect.'

C.I.L. vii, 878; L.S. 427 (Fig. 3).

The inscription is exceedingly worn, and the lower right hand portion wholly illegible. Bruce thought he could detect the name Claudius Modestus in ll. 4, 5: but this seems unwarranted. At the end of l. 3 I seemed to see .CL. '*civium Latinorum*,' but other descriptions of the cohort do not claim for it the status of Latin citizenship. The first $2\frac{1}{2}$ lines alone are perfectly plain. The history of the cohort has been discussed above, p. 203.

3. Upper part (11 ins. × 8 ins.) of a small altar originally 18 or 20 ins. high; found 1791.

IOVI.OM | VO[TV]M 'A vow to Jupiter best and greatest.'

C.I.L. vii, 883; L.S. 429.

The top only of the M is left, but the reading is quite certain though some more may have been lost

4. Altar, 2 ft. 8 ins. × 1 ft. 5 ins.; reticulated pattern above inscription

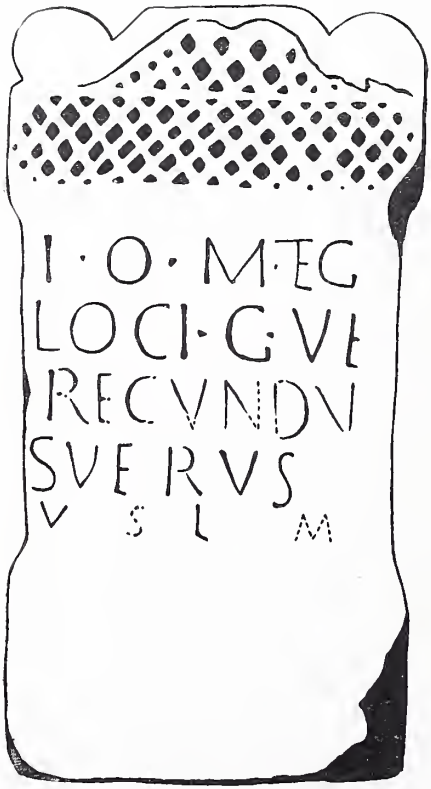


FIG. 4.—ALTAR FROM CASTLESTEADS (no. 4). Scale $\frac{1}{8}$.

I.O.M.ET G | LOCI.G.VE | RECVNDV | S VERVS | V[S]L [M] 'To Jupiter best and greatest and the Genius of the place, Gaius Verecundus Verus pays a vow.'

C.I.L. vii, 881; L.S. 428; *Eph. Epigr.* ix, p. 604 (Fig. 4).

Hübner (who, as usual for this part of the country, depends wholly on Bruce's correspondence for the reading) fails to make anything of l. 3, which is extremely worn and hardly legible at all. Haverfield read it RECVNDIV. I am unable to see the I; after long examination I can only read the name as I have given it. There may, however, be an S at the end of l. 3, in which case the name is G.VE | RECVNDVS | S(E)VERVS which Bruce thought it might be. For the accidental omission of an E in Severus, cf. no. 1.

5. Altar, 1 ft. 7 ins. × 7 ins., originally 1 ft. 7 ins. × about 11 ins., the left side cut off.

[DE]O MARTI | [S?] ET NG AVG | [....]PACO | [NI]VS SATV | [RNI]NVS | [V S] ET POSVIT. 'To the (holy) god Mars and to the deity of the Emperor Paco(ni)us Satu(rni)nus paid a vow and set up (this altar).'

C.I.L. vii, 885 ; L.S. 431.

Eph. Epig. ix, p. 604, where Haverfield reads the last line [PRAEF] EQ POSVIT '..prefect of cavalry set up (this altar).' The reading is not very clear ; Bruce's draughtsman read EO ; to me it appears to be ET. In line 2 the carver meant to put NVM AVG, but after cutting N he mistook what he had just done for AV in ligature and added a G ; then seeing his mistake tried to correct it and has left the passage in a muddle.

6. Upper part (4 ins. × 4 ins.) of a miniature altar, ornamented with circles and drilled holes.

DEO | [N]EP | [TVNO] 'To the god Neptune'...

C.I.L. vii, 893 ; L.S. 439.

Bruce and Hübner omit the E in l. 2, of which, however, the top stroke is plain and its meaning unmistakable.

FIG. 5.—ALTAR FROM CASTLESTEADS (no. 7). Scale $\frac{1}{8}$.

7. Altar, 2 ft. 3 ins. × 1 ft. 1 in.

.N.AVG. | DIIO VANA | VNTI AVREL | ARMIGER | DEC.PRINC '(Dedicated) to the deity of the Emperor (and) to the god Vanauns (by) Aurelius Armiger, senior decurion.'

C.I.L. vii, 888 ; L.S. 438 (Fig. 5).

The II in l. 2 is a common way of writing E. Vanauns is evidently a Celtic god, but does not seem to appear elsewhere. The Decurions commanded subdivisions of a century.

Above the inscription is an arcade consisting of two semicircular arches and one pointed arch. The presence, on a Roman monument, of a pointed arch as a decorative feature is apparently unique and certainly puzzling in the extreme: the explanation probably is that what looks like a Gothic arch is really an ill-drawn gable, a motive which would not be unnatural.

8. Miniature altar, 10½ins. × 4½ ins.

DEO | BELAT | VCAG | ROAR | MINERV[AE] 'To the god Belatucager an altar; to Minerva.'

C.I.L. vii, 873; L.S. 435.

The well-known god Belatucader is evidently intended; the supplementary dedication to Minerva looks like an afterthought. Native Celtic goddesses like Sul at Bath and Coventina at Carrawburgh were identified with Minerva.

9. Very rude altar, 16 ins. × 7 ins., with remains of zigzag ornament at top.

DEO 'To the god...' There has never been any further inscription. A more explicit dedication may have been painted on the stone, or the altar may have been part of a merchant's stock-in-trade, to be inscribed at a customer's orders.

Unpublished.

10. Altar, 3 ft. 2 ins. × 1 ft. 10 ins.

FIG. 6.—ALTAR FROM CASTLESTEADS (no. 10). Scale $\frac{1}{12}$.

DISCIPV | [L]INAE | [A] VGGG | VSTI 'To the Discipline of the Emperor(s).'

C.I.L. vii, 896; L.S. 445; Lysons, *Cumberland*, p. 154; *Eph. Epigr.* ix, p. 605 (Fig. 6).

Bishop Bennet of Cloyne (quoted by Lysons) observed that the altar had originally read DISCIPVLINAE AVGGG, and that the second and third G had been erased and the whole made to read DISCIPVLINAE AVGVSTI The erased G's are well shown in Bruce's woodcut, though in his text he ignores this reading. The altar was originally dedicated during the years 209—211, when Severus, Caracalla and Geta were joint Augusti. After Severus died in 211 and Geta was murdered in 212, his brother and murderer had the inscription altered so as to mention himself only. The name of Geta was systematically erased from all inscriptions; cf. C.I.L. vii, 482, in the crypt at Hexham.

11. Sepulchral slab, 2 ft. 6 ins. × 1 ft. 11 ins., flanked and surmounted by heavy screw-cut mouldings interrupted by panels bearing saltire crosses; in centre an ansate tablet 1 ft. 3 ins. × 9 ins., with bearded portrait head below.

D.M. | GEMELLI.C.A. | FL.HILARIO.D.H.F.C.

'In memory of Gemellus, custodian of the Arms: set up by his heir, Flavius Hilario, centurion.'

C.I.L. vii, 906; L.S. 446; *Eph. Epigr.* ix, p. 605.

In l. 2, C.A. stands for *Custos Armorum*, custodian of the fort armoury. Early interpreters attempted to read GEMELLICA, a lady's name, in defiance of the bearded portrait and the stops. In l. 3, after the centurion's symbol, read *H(eres) F(aciendum) C(uravit)*, a common formula.

12. Fragment (1 ft. 9 ins. × 1 ft. 6 ins.) of a sepulchral slab.

[D]M | [....]IS.EX. | [....V]IX.AN | [...STI]P IIIII | [...] AVR | [...CONIV]X 'In memory of So-and-so, of Such-and-such a regiment, in the... year of his life, and the fifth of his military service. Erected by Aur... his wife.'

C.I.L. vii, 907.

Eph. Epig. ix, 907, where Haverfield proposes to end the inscription E]X[TEST. 'by the terms of his will.' In that case TEST must have been cut on the moulding, as the X is the last letter that the panel can ever have held: and though this is sometimes done (e.g. C.I.L. vii, 62, at Bath, where, however, the technique is worse throughout) it is easier to supply something like F(ACIENDVM) C(VRAVIT) AVR[ELIA CONIV]X. The stops are leaf-stops, and there is one at the end of l. 2 which has been omitted in previous publications of the text.

13. Building-stone, 1 ft. 11 ins. × 1 ft., with an ansate tablet:

LEG II AVG | FECIT 'Made by the Second Legion Augusta.'

C.I.L. vii, 898; L.S. 455.

Found at Newtown of Irthington, a mile S.W. of Castlesteads, on the line of the Wall. It commemorates the building of a section of the Wall by the Second Legion, 'The Emperor's Own,' whose permanent quarters were at Caerleon-on-Usk in Monmouthshire. All great building-works of a military nature were done by the legions, which contained skilled artificers such as masons etc. Hadrian's Wall was thus built by legionaries but garrisoned by auxiliary cohorts.

14. Fragments, together 1 ft. × 9 ins., of a building-stone, originally 1 ft. × 1 ft. 2 ins., with an ansate tablet 7 ins. × 5½ ins.

COH IIII | [IVL]IA POS | [TVM]IANA '(Built by) the century of Julius Postumius, of the Fourth Cohort (of the —th Legion).'

C.I.L. vii, 901 ; L.S. 460.

In the fragmentary state of the stone the above reading is only conjectural. Line 1 is certain : so are A, O, S, in l. 2, and IANA in l. 3 : and the general form of the inscription is perfectly clear. It commemorates the building of a section of the Wall by a legionary century, whose commander's name cannot be restored with certainty. For Hübner's conjecture VARSICIANA there is no evidence ; fragments of a letter are visible before IANA in l. 3 but it is not certain that the letter is C.

15. Fragment, 10 ins. × 3½ ins., bearing what may be part of three lines of lettering, very rudely done : possibly as follows

IIV | ANI | IN.

Found in 1902 during excavations on the line of the Vallum, and published in these *Trans.* N.S. iii, 348 : but Haverfield was not sufficiently confident of its being an inscription at all to include it in his *Supplements* to C.I.L.

16. Fragment (9 ins. × 9 ins.) of a large slab, with 3½ inch letters.

]IA[|]RE[. . .

C.I.L. vii, 911 ; L.S. 452.

The reading AAA | PF given by both these (Hübner following Bruce) is inaccurate ; the forms as I have given them are quite clear, though the letters have never been finished, the ground not being cleared out.

17. Semi-octagonal pilaster, 4 ft. × 11 ins., having at the top of its face two lines of two letters each, PA | IC (the last letter may be the top of an S) with a horizontal line below them.

Unpublished.

18. Rough stone, 2 ft. 3 ins. × 1 ft. 4 ins., with rudely-cut (picked) letters about 3 ins. high. Not in Hübner ; Bruce L.S. 466 gives a good illustration, but not so complete as the accompanying cut. The only other illustration is in *Archaeologia* xi, by Carlisle, who thought it could be read SVB DEO RVBEO. Hübner thought it was mediaeval and read it SVB DEO AVDEO 'under God I dare.' The letters are, however, obviously not mediaeval but resemble those of several other rude Romano-British inscriptions : the last letter is a B ; and the letter read R

by Carlisle and A by Hübner is like neither of these in any ordinary epigraphic alphabet, but exactly resembles a T and an L both upside down. If, with this clue, the stone is turned upside down, it reads BEDALTOEDBOS ; the letters B,E,D are written back-

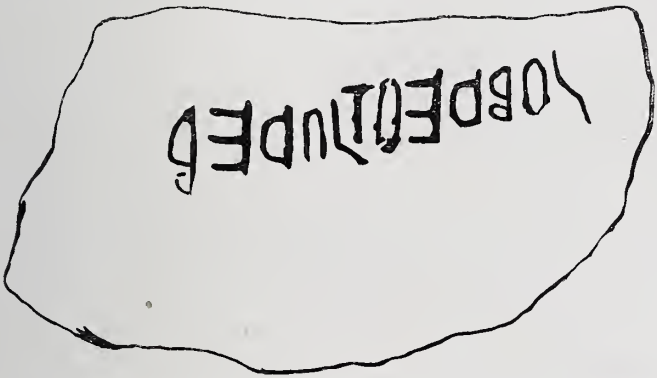


FIG. 7.—INSCRIPTION FROM CASTLESTEADS (no. 18). Scale $\frac{1}{8}$.

wards throughout, which is quite possible in a rude inscription. What it means I cannot say; it does not seem to be intelligible as a British inscription (Fig. 7).

The following three stones are uninscribed or illegible :—

19. Small yellow grit altar, 16 ins. × 10 ins.

20. Small red sandstone altar, 18 ins. × 7 ins.

21. Ansate slab in yellow grit, with well-executed ornate border, 2 ft. × 1 ft.

B. STONES FROM OTHER SITES NOW AT CASTLESTEADS.

22. Fragment (21 × 12 ins.) of a slab 24ins. square, with a circular cable-moulding 17 ins. in diameter containing the inscription

I.]O.M | [COH.I.A]EL.DAC | [CVI.PR]AEEST | [.....] VSCON. | [T]RIB. 'To Jupiter best and greatest, (dedicated by) the First Aelian Cohort of Dacians, under the command of ...us Con..., tribune.'

C.I.L. vii, 814 ; L.S. 362.

From Birdoswald, where Hodgson saw it in 1833 ; the width is wrongly given by Hübner. The abbreviation of the *cognomen* is unusual but certain ; there is a stop at the end of the line and the last line never contained anything but 'Trib.'

23. Altar-slab, 2 ft. 4 ins. × 1 ft. 3 ins. Found at Waterhead; evidently from Birdoswald.

I O M | ET N AVG | COH I AEL | DAC C P M | GALLICVS | TRIB 'To Jupiter best and greatest (dedicated by) the Aelian First Cohort of Dacians, under the command of Marcus Gallicus, tribune.'

C.I.L. vii, 821 (mis-described as a miniature altar); L.S. 363.

These authorities misread l. 4 as DAC CVI PR(AEEST), but the reading is clear, and from C.I.L. vii, 820 we know that the praenomen of Gallicus was Marcus. The work is poor and the stone is crumbling away badly.

24. Altar 18 ins. × 12 ins. Found 1851 at High Stead, between Old Wall and Bleatarn, 3 miles W.-S.-W. of Castlesteads and close to the site of a milecastle.

DEO | COCIDIO | MILITES | LEG.VI.VIC.P F 'To the god Cocidius, (dedicated by) soldiers of the Victorious, Pious and Faithful Sixth Legion.'

C.I.L. vii, 876; L.S. 433.

Cocidius, sometimes identified with Mars, was probably the tutelary god of the river Coquet, and was a very popular deity in the Roman army of these districts. The altar is dedicated, not by the Sixth Legion as a whole nor, apparently, by any unit of it, ordinary (century or cohort) or extraordinary (vexillation), but merely by a group of men from its ranks employed on the Wall possibly for building or repairing, since legionaries were never used in the mural garrisons. The good style of the altar favours the supposition that they were here to do mason's work.

25. Fragment 19 ins. × 16 ins. of a slab: from Birdoswald.

..]CM[.. | ..]IMVSDI[.. | ..]ES.A.SOLO.FE[.. | MAXI-MO.II].ET.AFRICANO.C[O(N)S(VLIBVS)]

C.I.L. vii, 833 b; L.S. 387. Hübner wished to read DEO SOLI INVI]C M[ITHRAE PRO SALVTE DO]MVS DI[VINAE 'To the Invincible Sun-god Mithras for the welfare of the Divine House, so-and-so built (this temple) from the ground in A.D. 236,' but the I before M in line 2, first observed by Haverfield (*Eph. Epigr.* ix, p. 600) makes this impossible and suggests a proper name like MAX]IMVS as one of the dedicators. Previous publications have overlooked the T in l. 4, which is, however, quite plain. In l. 1 the top of the M is missing, but the reading CM is more probable than CIVI.

C. STONES FROM CASTLESTEADS NOW PRESERVED ELSEWHERE.

26. Altar, 4 ft. 2 ins. × 1 ft. 7 ins., found 1660, now at Tullie House, Carlisle.

[I.O.M] | ET.NVMI[NI.AVG] | N.COH.II.TVN | GROR. GOR. ∞ .EQ | [C].L..CVI.PRAE | EST.CL.CLAV | D [IANVS] PRA | E F.INSTANTE | AEL.MARTINO | PRINC. K.IA[N] | IMP.DN.G.AVG.II[ET]PO | MPEIANO COS 'To Jupiter best and greatest and to the deity of our Emperor, (dedicated by) the Second Cohort of Tungrians, Gordian's Own, 1,000 strong, furnished with a cavalry contingent and enjoying the Latin citizenship, under the command of Claudius Claudianus, prefect; (executed) under the eye of Aelius Martinus, senior decurion, on the first of January, A.D. 241.'

C.I.L. vii, 882; L.S. 423; *Eph. Epigr.* ix, p. 604.

The reading is at several points doubtful. In l. 6 the name of the prefect is a conjectural, but probable, restoration from the CICIAV given by Routh: the date K.JAN is given as read by Haverfield, Anderson and Rostovtsev in 1919, but was admitted by them to be uncertain. In l. 11 the reading is generally given AVG.III PO; but Gordian was only consul twice, the second time in 241 with Pompeianus. Hübner, therefore, suggests that the third I of the numeral is the upright of an ET tied together: otherwise it must be explained as an error.

27. Altar found at the east gate of the fort: 'it seemed to be in the south jamb of the gate with the face downwards' (Horsley) *i.e.* it had been used as building-stone in a late reconstruction of the gateway. Now at Tullie House Museum, Carlisle.

M[AT]RIBVS | OMNIVM. | GENTIVM | TEMPLVM. | OLIM VETVS | TATE CONLAB | SVM G.IVL.CV | PITI-ANVS Ɔ | P.P.RESTITVIT 'A temple to the Mothers of all nations, formerly dilapidated by age, was restored by Gaius Julius Cupitianus, senior centurion of the —th Legion.'

C.I.L. vii, 887; L.S. 441; *Tullie House Cat.* (ed. i) no. 30.

The Mothers were a triad of goddesses much worshipped in Celtic countries, especially Gaul; their cult came to Britain with cohorts from the lower Rhine and Moselle basins and became very popular. They are represented sitting side by side and holding apples, grapes and wheat. P.P. stands for Primi Pili, or possibly for Primipilaris, in which case the meaning is 'senior centurion (retired).'

28. Sculpture 3 ft. 2 ins. × 1 ft. 9 ins., now at Netherby: a

winged figure of Victory standing on a globe, holding a crown and palm-branch, with the legend VIC | AVG 'To the Victory of the Emperor.'

C.I.L. vii, 891 ; L.S. 444.

I have not seen the stone.

D. Stones from Castlesteads Now Lost.

29. Altar, seen by Camden 'at Castle-steedes.'

I O M | [C]OH I[I] TVNG[ROR] | [M]IL EQ CV[I PR | AEES[T]AVRE[LIVS] | OPTATVS P[RAE] | F INSTAN[TE] | MES OPSE[QVENTE] | PRINC[IPE] 'To Jupiter best and greatest (dedicated by) the Second Cohort of Tungrians, 1,000 strong and furnished with a cavalry contingent, under the command of Aurelius Optatus prefect ; (executed) under the eye of Messius Obsequens, senior decurion.'

C.I.L. vii, 880.

30. Altar seen by Gordon at Scaleby, and according to Horsley attributed by its then owner to Castlesteads.

I[O M] | COH IIII | GALLORVM | C P VOLCA[.. | VS HOSPEIS | PR[AE]F EQ '(Dedicated) to Jupiter best and greatest by the Fourth Cohort of Gauls under the command of ? prefect of horse.' The reading of the name is unsatisfactory.

C.I.L. vii, 876.

31. Altar acquired by Gordon at Castlesteads and given by him to the Earl of Hertford, in whose collection Gale and Horsley saw it.

DEO SANG M | ARTI VENVSTIN | VS LVPVS VSLM 'To the holy god Mars, Venustinus Lupus pays a vow.'

C.I.L. vii, 884.

The above is Horsley's reading : the G was doubtless meant for C.

32. Altar formerly at Scaleby Castle : found 'at Cambeck in the ruins of an old stone wall.'

[DEO] SOLI | [I]NVICTO | SEX.SEVE | RIVS.SA | LVA-TOR[| PR]AEF | [V.S.]L.M 'To the Invincible Sun-god, Sextius Severius Salvator, Prefect, pays a vow.'

C.I.L. vii, 889.

The Sun-god is Mithras.

33. Altar from Castlesteads fort, formerly at Scaleby Castle.

DEO SOLI MITR | ....VIS | ....COR | .... 'To the Sun-god Mithras....'

C.I.L. vii, 890.

34. Altar, formerly at Scaleby Castle, found in the Irthing near Castlesteads.

DEO.S.BE | LATVCA[D] | RO AV.DO. | [PA]VLLINVS | V S 'To the holy god Belatucader, ... Paullinus pays a vow.' Line 3 is obviously corrupt.

C.I.L. vii, 874.

35. A large slab, said to come from 'Cumberland beyond the Irthing,' may or may not belong to Castlesteads, to which site it is commonly ascribed on very slender grounds. It appears, however, to have been seen at or near Brampton, and to have read somewhat as follows—

DEAE NYMPHAE BRIG(ANTIAE) | QVOD VOVERAT PRO | SALVTE ET INCOLVMITATE | DOM(INI).NOSTR(I). INVIC(TI) | IMP.M.AVREL.SEVERI | ANTONINI.PII. FELICIS | AVG . TOTIVSQVE.DO | MVS DIVINAE EIVS | M.COCCEIVS NIGRINVS | [PR]OC.AVG.N. DEVO | [TISSI-M]VS.NVM[INI] | [MAIES]TATIQVE EIVS V S L M 'To the Goddess Nymph Brigantia Marcus Cocceius Nigrinus, procurator (*i.e.* revenue officer) of our Emperor and most devoted to his deity and majesty, pays the vow which he had vowed for the welfare and safety of our lord the invincible Emperor Marcus Aurelius Severus Antoninus, Pious, Fortunate, August and of his whole divine house.'

C.I.L. vii, 875 ; *Eph. Epigr* ix, p. 604.

The emperor is Caracalla (212—217). Brigantia is a recognised goddess : we find Dea B., Dea Nympha B., Victoria B., B. Caelestis.

36. Altar, at Castlesteads in 1748 ; 12 ins. × 9 ins.

MATRI | BVS T[R | A]MA[RI | NIS...] 'To the Mothers overseas.'

The above is restored from the reading given namely TP.. | | MAP... The epithet Tramarinae is applied elsewhere to the Mothers, and doubtless indicates the fact that their cult was not native to these parts but came from the Low Countries.

Eph. Epigr. vii, 1081.

37. Altar, with inscription almost entirely obliterated. Carlisle in *Archaeologia* xi (1794), p. 66, plate 3, fig 7, reads

..N.. | ..DEO.... | ...VV..I ◁.. | ...C.V. | ....VI.

Hutchinson, *Cumberland* vol. 1, p. 118, pl. 2, fig. 20, reads .... | ..DEO.... | ...Vc... | ...OV... | ....

C.I.L. vii, 892.

This may be one of the two altars now at Castlesteads on which no inscription is visible.

38. Fragment of a sepulchral slab, found at the beginning of the seventeenth century or earlier; Bainbrigg saw it broken and laid in a pavement at Walton.

SOPH....[C] | ONIVGI SA[NCTISSIM] | AE ET [CARISSIMAE F C] ' (In memory of So-and-so, erected by) Soph... to his most sacred and (beloved) wife.' The inscription would probably begin D.M. and the lady's name.

C.I.L. vii, 909.

39. Fragment, 1 ft. × 10 ins., of a sepulchral slab. Seen by Bruce at Castlesteads, but not among the stones there when I examined them, and apparently lost within the last 50 years.

...IL EC... | ...IIESSOR... | ..XXVIS^{c}A...

C.I.L. vii, 908; L.S. 448.

In Bruce's woodcut the S in l. 3 is written above the line and obviously means ' and a half '; the letter or letters following are quite illegible.

40. Building-stone found ' in the east part of the station near the gate.'

LEG.VI.V | F ' Built by the Victorious Sixth Legion.'

C.I.L. vii, 900.

This stone is valuable, proving as it does that the fort itself, or at any rate some part of it, was built by the Sixth Legion.

41. Building-stone, found in 1791 in Hadrian's Wall in the immediate neighbourhood of the fort.

) ROMANI ' Century of Romanus.'

C.I.L. vii, 904.

The stone gives the name of the century which built that section of the Wall.

42. Building-stone, 1 ft. 1 in. × 1 ft., found at Irthington Bridge, half a mile or less south of the fort, and preserved in Camden's MSS.

VEXIL | LATIO | LEG II | AVG | REFECIT ' Repaired by a vexillation of the Second Legion, the Emperor's Own.'

Eph. Epigr. ix, 1217.

Whereas the original work of Hadrian's Wall was carried out by the legions as a whole, and was divided up among their cohorts and centuries in regular order, repairs were executed by vexillations, or extraordinary units drafted off from the legions for special duty.

43. Slab, found in a hypocaust (possibly the bath-house of the fort) about the beginning of the seventeenth century; it seems to have been whole, but the inscription illegible at the top and right-hand side.

IV..... | M..... | CVPAL..... | LEG.AVG.PP.COH.II | TVNG.POSVIT 'Set up by the Second Cohort of Tungrians under So-and-so, Legatus Augusti Pro Praetore (*i.e.* Imperial Governor of the Province of Britain).'

C.I.L. vii, 894.

The stone was sent to Camden by "Belted Will"; what then became of it is unknown.

44. I.BLASIOS | AI..B..INE..C | SVB.....P
Eph. Epigr. iv, 687.

45. Fragment, ornamented, found in the same hypocaust as C.I.L. vii, 894 (no. 43 above).
IF..... | TILIO....
C.I.L. vii, 910.

46. Fragment.
..ANO.. | ...OSIIISVB...
C.I.L. vii, 895.

47. Fragment.
..DIO... | ...II...
C.I.L. vii, 895.

III. Coins.

The coins found and preserved at Castlesteads number 99; of these I have been able, thanks to Mrs. Johnson's sending the whole collection to Oxford for thorough examination, to make the following catalogue. Excluding six which proved illegible, they are distributed among 33 emperors and empresses, as shown in the table which immediately precedes the catalogue; from the manner of this distribution the following conclusions seem to emerge.

The coins of Vespasian are all very much worn and have clearly been in circulation a long time before being lost. The same is true, but decreasingly so, of Domitian, Nerva and Trajan. With Hadrian we suddenly reach coins which have been dropped in a fresh state. This clearly indicates a foundation in the time of Hadrian, quite apart from any other evidence. It it to be noticed that 25 coins—a quarter of the total—were probably dropped during Hadrian's reign or at least before 150, but of these the great majority were struck before Hadrian's accession.

The next question is whether the fort was occupied 140-180, during the lifetime of the Antonine Wall. Nineteen coins fall in this period, and the freshness of many of them seems to put it beyond a doubt that the fort was then occupied: if not between 140 and 158, certainly from 158 to 180. It is possible, to judge by the worn condition of the coins of Pius, that the garrison was withdrawn by Lollius Urbicus for his Scottish conquests and only restored by Julius Verus (whom we know to have been active hereabouts) after the Brigantian rising of 158.

Very few coins mark the long reign of Commodus, and it seems quite possible that after the disaster of 180 (181? The coin 45 is of that date and in mint condition) the fort was for a time abandoned, to be put in commission again late in Severus' reign. This would fit the fact that the coins of Severus and Julia Domna are slightly worn, while those of Caracalla and Geta are almost in mint condition. From 210 or thereabouts to perhaps 235 the coins prove continuous occupation. After that there is a gap till 250 or 260, but this is opportunely filled by inscriptions proving that the Second Cohort of Tungrians was here about 240.

After 270 there seems to be another gap. The coins suggest that the fort may have been unoccupied from that date till 290 or thereabouts. This is indeed very likely: we know that there was a disaster on the Wall about 270,

and that Carausius about 290 undertook a Caledonian war and presumably restored the frontier-defences. Throughout the first half of the fourth century the fort was obviously inhabited: and the occupation runs steadily on to Valens. In 367 came the great Pictish invasion: and after this it is certain from the coins that Castlesteads was reoccupied. This reoccupation has left us a coin of Gratian and perhaps a few of Valens.

The next crisis in the history of the Wall was the withdrawal of troops by Maximus (383). Was Castlesteads reoccupied again after this?

The coins do not answer the question with certainty. One coin, unfortunately not wholly decipherable, seems pretty certainly to belong either to Valentinian II. or to Theodosius I. In the former case it can only have reached the Wall after Maximus left it, and proves an occupation after 383: in the latter, it may have been dropped before Maximus left Britain.

Emperor	Æ	Æ			*Total*	*Condition*
		1	2	3 *Small*		
Vespasian (69-79)	5		1		6	all much worn
Domitian (81-96)	2	1	2		5	all worn
Nerva (96-98)	1				1	rather worn
Trajan (97-117)	6	3			9	all rather worn
Hadrian (117-138)	1	2	1		4	mostly fresh
Pius (138-161)	2	4	2		8	mostly worn
Faustina I.	2	1	1		4	2 fresh, 2 worn
M. Aurelius (161-180)	2	2			4	2 fresh, 2 worn
Faustina II.	2				2	fairly fresh
Verus (161-169)	1				1	very fresh
Commodus (176-192)	2				2	1 very fresh, 1 worn
Severus (193-211)	3				3	slightly worn
Julia Domna	3				3	slightly worn
Caracalla (212-217)	1		1		2	fresh
Geta (209-212)	2				2	fresh
Aquilia Severa (218 222)	1				1	fresh
Julia Mamaea (—235)	1				1	fairly fresh

Emperor	Æ						*Condition*
	Æ	1	2	3	*Small*	*Total*	
Valerian (253-259)					1	1	fairly fresh
Victorinus (265-267)					1	1	rather worn
Gallienus (253-268)					1	1	fairly fresh
Maximian (285-305)			1	1		2	fairly fresh
Carausius (287-293)				2		2	1 fresh, 1 worn
Galerius (305-311)			1			1	fairly fresh
Licinius (307-323)				1		1	fresh
Constantine I. (305-337)			3	4	6	13	mostly fresh
Crispus (317-326)					1	1	worn
Constantine II. (317-340)					1	1	fresh
Constantius II. (323-361)				1	1	2	rather worn
Magnentius (350-353)			1	1		2	not much worn
Valentinian I. (364-375)					1?	1?	rather worn
Valens (364-375)					4	4	mostly fresh
Gratian (367-383)	1					1	fresh
Valentinian II. (383-392)					1?	1?	fresh
Illegible	3		1	2		6	
	41	13	15	12	18	99	

VESPASIAN (69-79).

1. Æ : worn : 47 gr.
   obv.—IMP CAES VESPASIANVS AVG. Head laureate r.
   rev.—IVDAEA. Judaea mourning seated r. on ground at the foot of a trophy.
   Cohen 226. A.D.90, commemorating the conquest of Judaea.
2. Æ : worn : 42 gr.
   obv.—IMP CAESAR VESPASI(ANVS AVG) withershins. Head laureate r.
   rev.—PON (MAX TR P) COS VI. Seated figure l.
   Cohen 366. A.D.75.
3. Æ : worn and corroded : 28 gr.
   obv.—(IMP) V(E)S(PASIA)NV(S) A(VG). Head laureate r.
   rev.—Figure sacrificing at altar.
   Found 1873.

4. ÆR : worn : 47 gr.
obv.—IMP CAES VESP AVG P P. Head laureate r.
rev.—TR P(OT)... Vesta? seated, l.
Cohen 561?
5. ÆR : worn : 39 gr.
obv.—Head laureate r.
rev.—Illegible.
6. Æ 2 : much worn and corroded : 119 gr.
obv.—Head r. (attribution to Vespasian reasonably certain).
rev.—Standing figure.

DOMITIAN (81-96).

7. ÆR : worn : 37 gr.
obv.—CAESAR AVG F DOMITIANVS. Head laureate r.
rev.—Domitian on horseback : legend undecipherable.
Before D's accession in 81.
8. ÆR : worn : 41 gr.
obv.—IMP CAES DOMITI(ANVS) IMP... Head r.
rev.—Illegible.
9. Æ 1 : much worn and corroded : 292 gr.
obv.—...GERM COS XI... Head r.
rev.—Illegible.
Probably A.D.85, and certainly between 84 and 90.
10. Æ 2 : much worn : 108 gr.
obv.—(IMP CAES DOMIT) AVG GERM COS XII CE(NS PERP). Head laureate r.
rev.—Standing figure l. : (s) c in field.
A.D.86.
11. Æ 2 : much worn and corroded : 72 gr.
obv.—Head of D? r. (attribution probable).
rev.—Illegible.

NERVA (96-98).

12. ÆR : somewhat worn : 38 gr.
obv.—Head laureate r. (recognisable as N.).
rev.—CONCORDIA (EXERCITVVM). Clasped hands.
Cohen 16, 20 or 22 : A.D. 96 or 97.

TRAJAN (97-117).

13. ÆR : slightly worn : 39 gr.
obv.—IMP TRAIANO AVG GER DAC P M TR P. Head laureate r.
rev.—COS V P P SPQR OPTIMO PRINC. Trophy.
Cohen 98. A.D.104-110.

14. Æ : rather worn : broken : 38 gr.
obv.—IMP TRAIANO AVG GER D(AC)... Head laureate r.
rev.—COS V P P SPQR (OPTIMO P)RINC. Justice standing l. with scales.
Cohen 85. A.D.104-110.

15. Æ : somewhat worn, corroded and broken : 26 gr.
obv.—(IM)P TRAIANO AVG GER DAC... Head laureate r.
rev.—Vesta? seated l.
A.D.102-117.

16. Æ : somewhat worn and corroded : 35 gr.
obv.—...DAC P M TR P. Head laureate r.
rev.—(COS..) P P SPQR OPTIMO PRINC. Standing figure l.

17. Æ : much worn : 34 gr.
obv.—...TRAIANO... Head laureate r.

18. Æ : somewhat worn and corroded : 31 gr.
obv.—Head laureate r. (recognisable as T).
rev.—Standing figure.

19. Æ : much worn : 355 gr.
obv.—Head r.
rev.—Seated Dacian, l. : trophy.
This is one of a well-known series commemorating the conquest of Dacia. Cohen 531, 535 or 536. After A.D.102.

20. Æ 1 : much worn and corroded : 268 gr.
obv.—Head laureate r. (recognisable as T).
rev.—Draped female figure l. with sceptre. (s) c in field.

21. Æ 1 : much worn and corroded : 245 gr.
obv.—Head r. (attribution to T probable).

HADRIAN (117-138).

22. Æ : fresh, but corroded : 35 gr.
obv.—(HA)DRIANVS AVG COS III P P. Head laureate r.
rev.—AEGYPTOS. Egypt, recumbent l. with sistrum and sacred ibis.
Cohen 100. Struck to commemorate H's visit to Egypt.

23. Æ 1 : much corroded, but fresh : 278 gr.
obv.—HADRIANVS AVGVSTVS. Head r.
rev.—...COS?... Standing figure l. s c in field.

24. Æ 1 : much corroded, but fresh : 299 gr.
obv.—Head r. (attribution certain).

25. Æ 2 : much worn and corroded : 137 gr.
obv.—Head r. : probably H, but possibly Antoninus Pius.

ANTONINUS PIUS (138-161).

26. Æ : fairly fresh : 39 gr.
obv.—ANTONINVS AVG PIVS P P. Head laureate r.
rev.—COS IIII. Standing female figure l. with sceptre.
After A.D.145.

27. Æ : fresh, but heavily coated with verdigris : 36 gr.
obv.—(A)NTO(NINVS AVG P)IVS (P P) Head r.
rev.—...(TR POT ...)III COS ...

28. Æ 1 : somewhat worn : 422 gr.
obv.—...AVG ... Head laureate r.
v.—Standing figure l. with cornucopia. (S) C in field.

29. Æ 1 : somewhat worn and much corroded : 347 gr.
obv.—Head, probably Pius.
rev.—(TR) POT... Ceres (?) with cornucopia. S C in field.

30. Æ 1 : somewhat worn : 327 gr.
obv.—(ANTONINVS AVG) PIVS ... Head laureate r.
rev.—TR POT XX (COS IIII) Security or Concord seated l. with cornucopia and sceptre.
A.D.157. Cohen 1008.

31. Æ 1 : worn and broken at edges : 222 gr.
obv.—...NVS AVG ... Head laureate r.
rev.—(TR POT) XX (COS IIII) Figure l. with sceptre.
A.D.157. Cohen 1010?

32. Æ 2 : much worn : 243 gr.
obv.—Head r.
rev.—Standing female figure with sceptre : S C in field.

33. Æ 2 : fairly fresh, but badly corroded : 226 gr.
obv.—(ANTONINV)S AVG P(IVS) ... Head laureate r.
rev.—TR P ... COS IIII . S C in field. Standing figure.
After A.D.145.

FAUSTINA I. (wife of Antoninus Pius) d. 141.

34. Æ : good fresh condition : 45 gr.
obv.—DIVA FAVSTINA. Head with usual coiffure, r.
rev.—AVGVSTA. Vesta, veiled, facing, head l., with sceptre.
Cohen 109.
Found April 1893, 4 feet below surface, in digging the foundations for addition to the gardener's house.

35. Æ : fresh, corroded : 36 gr.
obv.—DIVA FAVSTINA. Head with usual coiffure, r.
rev.—AVGVSTA Vesta, r., seated on chair.
Cohen 120.

36. Æ 1 : somewhat worn : 332 gr.
obv.—DIVA FAVSTINA. Head with usual coiffure, r.
rev.—(AVG)VS(TA). Ceres, l. with two torches. S C in field.
Cohen 91.

37. Æ 2 : very much worn : 115 gr.
obv.—Head r., possibly of Faustina.

M. AURELIUS (161-180).

38. Æ : fresh condition, but covered with verdigris : 26 gr.
obv.—Head laureate r.
rev.—VICT AVG (COS III). Winged Victory striding l., holding crown.
Cohen 979. A.D.170.

39. Æ : fine fresh condition : 43 gr.
obv.—AVRELIVS CAES AN ... Head, bare, r.
rev.—TR POT XII COS II. Peace standing l., leaning on column, holding sceptre and caduceus.
Cohen 727. A.D.158.

40. Æ 1 : worn : 234 gr.
obv.—...NINVS AVG... Head of Marcus, laureate, r.
rev.—Standing female figure l., with sceptre, sacrificing. S C in field.

41. Æ 1 : somewhat worn : 302 gr.
obv.—(M AVRELIVS) ANTONINVS AVG. Head laureate r.
rev.—Seated Jupiter l. S C in field.

FAUSTINA II. (wife of M. Aurelius : d. 175).

42. Æ : fairly fresh : 39 gr.
obv.—FAVSTINA(E A)VG P(II)AVG FIL. Head, bare, r.
rev.—PVDICITIA. Modesty, standing l. and veiled, sacrificing.
Cohen 181.

43. Æ : somewhat worn : 34 gr.
obv.—(FAVSTINA) AVGVSTA. Head r.
rev.—AVGVSTI PII FIL. Hope, standing l., holding a flower and raising her dress.
Cohen 24.

VERUS (161-169).

44. Æ : fine condition, very little worn : 48 gr.
obv.—L VERVS AVG ARM PARTH MAX. Head laureate r.
rev.—TR P VI IMP IIII COS II. Peace standing l. with olive branch and cornucopia : PAX in exergue.
A.D.166. Not in Cohen : a fine specimen of a rare coin.

COMMODUS (176-192).

45. Æ: mint condition: 39 gr.
obv.—M ANTONINVS COMMODVS AVG. Head laureate r.
rev.—TR P VII IMP IIII COS III P P. Female figure standing l. with cornucopia, sacrificing.
A.D.181. Cohen 839. Found in the garden, 1887.

46. Æ: worn and broken: 28 gr.
obv.—(M C)OMM A(NT) P FEL AVG BRIT. Head laureate r.
rev.—P M TR P XI IMP (VII) COS V P(P). Jupiter seated l. with sceptre and thunderbolt.
A.D.186. Cohen 486. Found in the garden, 1887.

SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS (193-211).

47. Æ: somewhat worn: 49 gr.
obv.—Head laureate r. (recognisable as S).
rev.—ADVENTVI AVG FELICI(SSIMO). S. r. on horseback with r. hand raised.
Cohen 6. A.D.196.

48. Æ: very little worn: 47 gr.
obv.—L SEPT SEV PERT AVG IMP VII. Head laureate r.
rev.—TR P IIII COS II P P. Minerva, armed, standing l.
A.D.196. Like Cohen 665, but the numerals different and the title *pater patriae* added.

49. Æ: good fresh condition, but covered with verdigris: 36 gr.
obv.—Wholly obscured by verdigris.
rev.—(RESTITVTOR) VRBIS. Severus in armour standing l. with sceptre, sacrificing.
A.D.198-201. Cohen 599, 600 or 602.

JULIA DOMNA (wife of Severus, d. 217).

50. Æ: fairly fresh: 28 gr.
obv.—(IVLIA DOMN)A AVG. Head, bare, r.
rev.—VENE(RI VICTR). Venus, back view, with palm and apple.
Cohen 194.

51. Æ: 3 pieces (about 4/5) of a broken denarius: 36 gr.
obv.—IVLIA AVGVSTA. Head, bare, r.
rev.—VENV(S) FELIX. Venus standing l. with apple and sceptre.
Cohen 197.

51. Æ: not much worn: 38 gr.
obv.—IVLIA AVGVSTA. Head, bare, r.
rev.—HILARITAS. Figure of Cheerfulness, l., with cornucopia and palm, between two children.
Cohen 79.

CARACALLA (212-217).

53. Æ : mint condition, but broken : 15 gr.
obv.—ANTON(INVS AVGVSTVS). Beardless head laureate r.
rev.—PONT (TR P II). Security, seated r. in front of a blazing altar, r. hand raised to head, sceptre in l.
A.D.199. Cohen 498.

54. Æ 2 : not much worn : 130 gr.
obv.—(AN)TONINVS . . . Head radiate r.
rev.—Standing figure.

GETA (209-212).

55. Æ : fresh condition : 29 gr.
obv.—P SEPT GETA PONT. Head, bare, r.
rev.—FELICITAS PVBLICA. Felicity standing l. with cornucopia and caduceus.
Cohen 38.

56. Æ : fresh condition, but broken : 32 gr.
obv.—P(SEPT GETA) CAES PONT. Head, base, r.
rev.—PIE(TA)S. Piety, veiled, standing l. : before her a lighted altar.
Cohen 97. Oriental manufacture.

AQUILIA SEVERA (second wife of Elagabalus, 218-222).

57. Æ : fresh broken : 18 gr.
obv.—IVLIA AQVILIA (SEVERA AV)G. Head, bare, r.
rev.—(CONCO)RDIA. Concord, standing l. with double cornucopia, sacrificing.
Cohen 2.

JULIA MAMAEA (mother of Severus Alexander : d. 235).

58. Æ : not much worn : 41 gr.
obv.—IVLIA MAMAEA AVG. Head, bare, r.
rev.—VENERI FELICI. Venus standing l. with sceptre.
Cohen 60, where, however, Venus stands r.

VALERIAN (253-259).

59. Æ : slightly worn : 26 gr.
obv.—(IMP C P LI)C VALERIANVS P F AVG. Head radiate r.
rev.—VIRTV(S AVG)G. Mars r. with spear and trophy.
Cohen 267.

VICTORINUS (265-267).

60. Æ : somewhat worn and corroded : 34 gr.
obv.—. . . VICTORINVS P F AVG. Head radiate r.
rev.—Figure standing l. with cornucopia.

GALLIENUS (253-268).

61. Æ 3 : not much worn : 38 gr.
obv.—GAL(LIENVS AVG). Head radiate r.
rev.—(SECV)RIT PERPET. H in field. Crowned figure l. leaning on column and holding sceptre.
Cohen 961.

MAXIMIAN (285-305).

62. Æ 2 : fairly new, corroded : 103 gr.
obv.—IMP MAXIMIANVS P F AVG. Head laureate r.
rev.—GENIO POPVLI ROMANI. Genius l. with patera and cornucopia.
Cohen 197 ?

63. Æ 3 : slightly worn, broken : 40 gr.
obv.—IMP MAXIMIA(NVS...). Head laureate r.
rev.—GENI(O POP ROM). Genius l. with patera and cornucopia.

CARAUSIUS (287-293 in Britain).

64. Æ 3 : rather worn : 48 gr.
obv.—IMP C CARAVSIVS P F AVG. Head radiate r.
rev.—PROVID AVGGG. Figure l. with ball and cornucopia. SP in field, C in exergue.
After A.D.289. Cohen 268.

65. Æ 3 : good fresh coin : 62 gr.
obv.—IMP CARAVSIVS P F AVG. Head radiate r.
rev.—VIRTVS A(VG). Soldier r: with shield and spear. SP in field.
Cohen 391. Before A.D.289.

GALERIUS (305-311).

66. Æ 2 : fairly fresh : 116 gr.
obv.—MAXIMIANVS NOB C. Head laureate r.
rev.—GENIO POPVLI ROMANI. Genius, l. PKL in exergue.
Cohen 54.

LICINIUS (307-323).

67. Æ 3 : fresh : 47 gr.
obv.—IMP C VAL LICIN LICINIVS P F AVG. Head radiate r.
rev.—IOVI CONSERVATORI. Jupiter, l., holding Victory or a globe and sceptre : on ground, to l. eagle holding a crown, to r. a squatting captive. XIIΓ in field. Struck at Alexandria. SMHA in exergue.
Cohen 74.

CONSTANTINE I. (305-337).

68. Æ 3 : fresh : 59 gr.
obv.—CONSTANTINVS P F AVG. Head laureate r.
rev.—COMITI AVGG NN. Sun-god radiate l. with orb and whip: star in field. DLN in exergue.
Cohen 39.

69. Æ 2 : fairly fresh, but pierced for use as a button : 114 gr.
obv.—FL VA CONSTANT...S... Head r.
rev.—GENIO POPVLI ROMANI. Genius l. with patera and cornucopia. Might be of Constantius Chlorus (the obverse legend is not clear), but does not exactly suit anything in Cohen under either emperor.

70. Æ 2 : fairly fresh : 77 gr.
obv.—FL VAL CONSTANTINVS NOB C. Head r.
rev.—GE(NIO) POPVLI ROMANI. Genius l. with patera and cornucopia. SH in field, PTR in exergue.
Cohen 218. A.D. 307.

71. Æ small : slightly worn : 20 gr.
obv.—(CONST)ANTI(NVS AVG). Head laureate r.
rev.—GLORIA EXERCITVS. Two soldiers with arms, between them a standard.
Found in April, 1893, in digging a drain in the orchard.
Cohen 244.

72. Æ 2 : fairly fresh : 62 gr.
obv.—IMP CONSTANTINVS AVG. Head laureate r.
rev.—SOLI INVICTO COM(ITI). Sun-god radiate l. with orb. TF in field, PTC in exergue.
Cohen 531, but without the captive.

73. Æ 3 : fairly fresh : 40 gr.
obv.—IMP CONSTANTINVS AVG. Head laureate r.
rev.—SOLI INVICTO COMITI. Sun-god radiate l. with orb. SF in field.
Cohen 530, but without the captive.

74. Æ 3 : fairly fresh : 42 gr.
obv.—CONSTANTINVS P AVG. Head laureate r.
rev.—SOLI INVICTO C(OMITI). Sun-god l. radiate with orb. TF in field.
Cohen 524.

75. Æ 3 : fairly fresh : 47 gr.
obv.—(IM)P CONSTANTINVS AVG. Head l. in helmet adorned with crest and stars.
rev.—VICTORIAE LAETAE PRINC PERP. Two Victories placing a shield on an altar.
Cohen 637.

76. Æ small: slightly worn: 43 gr.
obv.—(IMP CONS)TANTINVS (MAX AVG). Head r. in helmet.
rev.—VICTORIAE LAETAE PRINC PERP. Two Victories placing shield (legend VOT P R ?) on altar.
Cohen vol. vii, pp. 303-4.

77. Æ small: slightly worn: 33 gr.
obv.—...CONSTANTINVS... Head r. in helmet.
rev.—(VI)CTORIAE (LAETAE PRINC PERP). Two Victories placing shield (VOT P R) on altar. STP in exergue.
Cohen 628 ?

78. Æ small: fresh: 41 gr.
obv.—Head r. in laurel-wreathed lehmet.
rev.—Two Victories holding shield on altar.
This belongs to the VICTORIAE LAETAE series, but the legends are undecipherable. It is certainly Constantine's.

79. Æ small: fairly fresh: 23 gr.
obv.—...(A)VG Head, diadem, r.
rev.—VI(CTORIAE...) Two Victories, face to face, holding up crowns (?). SNR in exergue.
This resembles 74-76 in general type, but I cannot positively identify it either as Constantine's or as anyone else's, though the head is most probably his.

80. Æ small: fairly fresh: 25 gr.
obv.—VRBS ROMA. Head of Rome l. in helmet.
rev.—Wolf l. suckling twins. TRP* in exergue.
Cohen 18.

CRISPUS (317-326).

81. Æ: worn and broken: 36 gr.
obv.—FL IVL CR(ISPVS NOB CAES). Head laureate r.
rev.—VICTORIAE LAETAE PRINC PERP. Two Victories placing shield (VOT P R) on altar.
Cohen 151.

CONSTANTINE II. (317-340).

82. Æ small: fresh: 33 gr.
obv.—CONSTANTINVS IVN NOB. Head laureate r.
rev.—GLORIA EXERCITVS. Two soldiers with arms: between them two standards. PLG in exergue.
Cohen 122.

CONSTANTIUS II. (323-361).

83. Æ 3: slightly worn: 82 gr.

obv.—D N CONSTANTIVS P F AVG. Head r. A in field.
rev.—FEL TEMP REPARATIO. Soldier l. spearing enemy fallen from horseback. ?PTR in exergue.
Cohen 45 (who observes in connexion with the reverse type "quoique la *réparation des temps* ait pu être *heureuse*, il ne paraît pas qu'elle soit étendue jusqu'à l'adoucissement des mœurs").
After A.D.337.

84. Æ small: worn: 65 gr.
obv.—Head in diadem r. ∇ in field.
rev.—As no. 82. Cohen 45 or variety. After A.D.337.

MAGNENTIUS (350-353 in Gaul).

85. Æ 2: corroded: 132 gr.
obv.—D N MAGNEN(TIVS P F) AVG. Head r.
rev.—SALVS DD NN AVG ET CAES. Monogram of Christ: A Ω in field: AMB in exergue
Cohen 29.

86. Æ 3: rather worn: 80 gr.
obv.—D N MAGNENTIVS P F AVG. Head, bare, r.
rev.—SALVS DD NN AVG ET CAES. Monogram of Christ: A Ω in field. ?AMB in exergue.
Cohen 32.

VALENTINIAN I. (364-375).

87. Æ small: worn and corroded: 37 gr.
obv.—Head, diadem, r. Resembles Valentinian, Valens or Gratian: but the legend seems to have been too long to suit the others.
rev.—Figure, facing, sacrificing? I cannot identify this type.

VALENS (364-378).

88. Æ small: fresh: 31 gr.
obv.—D N VALENS P F AVG. Head with diadem r.
rev.—SECVRITAS REIPVBLICAE. Victory striding l. with crown and palm. OF II in field: COM in exergue.
Cohen 47.

89. Æ small: worn: 34 gr.
Same coin, DBSISC in exergue.

90. Æ small: obv.—much worn: rev.—fresh: 38 gr.
Same coin, LVGP in exergue.

91. Æ small: fairly fresh, but chipped: 33 gr.
Same coin, F I in field.

GRATIAN (367-383).

92. AR : fairly fresh, but reduced to oxide.
obv.—GRATIANVS . . . Head r.
rev.—Adhering to a small brass (93, illegible) and this again to a small silver (94, illegible). The three, 84 grains.

VALENTINIAN II. (383-392).

95. Æ small : fresh, but much flaked : 22 gr.
obv.—Head r. The head might also be Theodosius (379-395) in which case the coin might date before the evacuation of the Wall by Magnus Maximus in 383. Legend altogether lost.
rev.—Legend and most of type lost. Perhaps a seated figure r. holding out hand to a kneeling figure l. : but the outstretched hand in sleeve is the only thing that is quite clear, and I have not been able to identify the type.

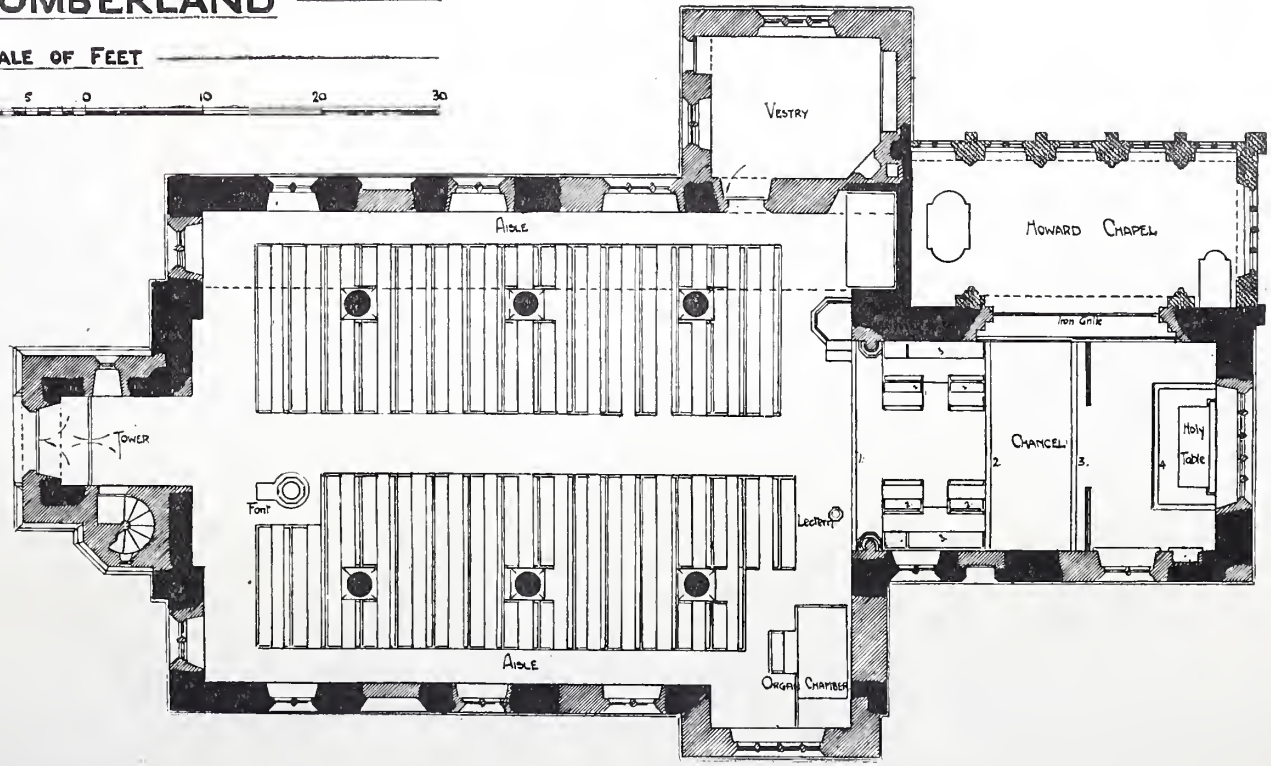
ILLEGIBLE.

96. AR covered with verdigris : 46 gr.
97. AR ditto : 39 gr.
98. Æ 2 : much corroded : 220 gr. : 2nd century. ?Found 1904 in building bothy.
99. Æ 3 : much worn : 70 gr. : might be Domitian, Nerva or Trajan. Also 93, 94, adhering to 92 above.

WETHERAL CHURCH
CUMBERLAND

SCALE OF FEET

10 5 0 10 20 30



Art. XXI.—*The Church of the Holy Trinity, Wetheral.* By J. H. Martindale, F.R.I.B.A.

Read at the site, September 14th, 1921.

When a church was first built on this site is lost in the mists of time. A church existed here at the end of the 11th century, before the Priory was founded, for its patronage was given to the new Priory in its foundation charter; but I don't think you can see any masonry of this early church to-day. It is quite possible that the first church may have consisted of nave and chancel only, as has been said; but I venture to think both aisles are of the same date, and this would give us a general plan as at present, namely, nave, aisles and chancel, all of about the 13th century. The windows are all later insertions, but the walls themselves are of this date.

It may help us to understand the plan and arrangement if I explain what existed before the last restoration, forty years ago.

The seats in the nave were arranged in blocks facing north and south, with four gangways on each side from a single centre aisle. The last three seats against the north and south walls were raised or stepped up. The north and south doorways, now blocked up, had the upper part glazed as large circular-headed windows. The two windows at the west end of the aisles were wide semicircular-head windows of 18th century date. The aisles extended from the west wall to the east wall of the nave in one line. The *quasi* south transept is modern, though possibly built of old stone, and the four-light window in it may have been rebuilt from the same bay of the south aisle. The two-light windows in the north and south walls at the west end are in their original position; the others are

modern or may have been ancient dressing rebuilt. There was a three-light window in the east wall of the south aisle where the organ now stands, and beyond this was a vestry, covering the ancient priest's door and window in the south wall of the chancel. There was an external door to this vestry in the east wall and access to the church was by the ancient priest's door. The ceilings in both nave and chancel were flat plaster; that of the nave was at about the level of the present tiebeams and that of the chancel about the apex of the arcade. The opening between nave and chancel was a great gap the full width of the chancel, and the upper part filled in with lath and plaster; you can trace the outline in the plaster now. The Salkeld tomb was in the arch on the north side of the chancel, which was then walled up with a small door about where the gate is in the iron grille. The floor was level up to the altar steps.

The Tower internally was about the same size as at present, with very thin walls; and a straight flight of external steps across the west end of the south aisle gave access to the upper part. The east window was a most miserable three-light affair, with the sill so low that any one could look in from the outside. From what I have said, although I hold no brief for the restoration of 1881, I think you will admit there has been a little improvement.

Now as to the ancient work you can see.

The north and south doors with semicircular heads remain *in situ*, but are now blocked. There are two ancient windows (late 15th century) *in situ*, at the extreme west end of the north and south walls of the aisles. Some of the remaining windows are old, but have been refixed in new positions. The clerestory is about the end of 15th or early 16th century, and has been inserted in older walls.

The arcades have four obtusely pointed arches on each side, the arches simple splays of two orders, the outer one having splay stops before reaching the abacus of the

capital. The eastern and western columns on both sides are circular; the centre ones are octagonal. All have very plain caps, not quite similar; the bases are angle splays working into a square, somewhat similar to those of the nave in Carlisle Cathedral. There are no corbels or responds to the end arches.

At the western end of the south wall of the chancel is a low two-light window with an inscription on its external face: "Pray for the soul of William Thornton, abbot." He was Prior about 1500 and was elected Abbot of St. Mary's, York, in 1530. Over the priest's door is the inscription "Pray for the soul of Richard Wedderhall." He succeeded Thornton as Prior about 1534. There are also fragments of external inscriptions on the mullions of the ancient windows in the aisles, and on one arch of the north arcade. There are no traces of an early tower; probably there has only been a bell-cote, and the sanctus bell remains.

There is an altar tomb and fine effigies of Sir Richard Salkeld, of Corby, and Dame Jane, his wife, about 1500. The figures are in alabaster and have traces of colour. The knight is in plate armour with shirt of mail; his head rests on the tilting-helmet, which has the Salkeld arms on the back. He wears a collar of roses and ss. Dame Jane also wears the collar of ss. and her arms, Vaux of Triermain, are on a shield. The inscription is famous and well known. The monument has been moved about, but was placed in its present position in 1882, as believed to be the site mentioned by Bishop Nicolson, though it was not anciently placed north and south, as now. There is in the Howard Mausoleum a very fine piece of sculpture by Nollekens. There was, in the old vestry, a fine almery or press with very interesting iron-work, but this disappeared in 1882, and it is a blot on the work; of this there is a sketch in the vestry. The then existing font was removed, and a few years ago was restored and given to a

studious character and learning, and the site is rather an unusual one for them to select. The Cistercians always chose beautiful and secluded sites, far from the haunts of men, because they were the agricultural order; but the Benedictines usually selected sites adjacent to towns or important centres of population, and the selection of Wetheral would seem to indicate some existing importance in the place. There already existed a church at Wetheral and also a chapel at Warwick. It was on the "Via Regia" or king's highway between Carlisle, then newly re-founded by William Rufus, and Appleby, the chief feudal seat of its founder, and further, was known in Roman times, as testified by the inscribed rock, higher up the river. Historic or traditional interest seems to have been regarded as of weight by church-founders in other instances; as, for example, when Crosthwaite church was built in the 12th century, on a site which was believed to have memories of St. Kentigern.

The founder was the nephew of the great Hugh, Earl of Chester, whom he eventually succeeded, and had just been granted the "honor" of Cumberland. It was quite natural that he, the first Norman feudal owner, should endow a religious house in his new possession, and he did this right bountifully, as testified by the first four charters. The priory, on its foundation, was endowed with the churches of Wetheral and Warwick, and in succeeding years very many other churches were added to its patronage, which, at the Dissolution, were granted to the Dean and Chapter of Carlisle, together with all the revenues of the priory; from the endowments of this ancient site springs part of the extensive patronage now enjoyed by the Dean and Chapter of Carlisle.

Henry I., Henry II., Richard I. and Henry III., also Earl David, afterwards David I. of Scotland, and brother-in-law of Henry I., were all royal benefactors of the house c. 1107; but benefactions were not confined to the great.

The humble tenant and even the porter of the monastery left their legacies ; and the gifts were not confined to land. Roger Beauchamp, c. 1223, gave his body to be buried in the church of Wetheral Priory, and all his land to provide vestments and lights for the altar of the Virgin, with the services of his serf John Golti (Prescott, *Wetheral Register*, p. 280).

The right of sanctuary was granted by Henry I., and apparently the privilege was not common in the district. It was marked by six boundary crosses, the positions of which are given in Machel's manuscript. The area included may roughly be said to extend from the Eden on the east, Warwick on the north, and Scotby, Cumwhinton and Armathwaite, west and south.

Edward II., when Prince of Wales, paid two visits here, in 1301 and again in 1306-7, and received, as prisoners, the two brothers of Robert de Bruce, King of Scotland, who were a few days later, executed at Carlisle (Prescott, *Wetheral* p. 402). The late Chancellor Prescott gives a list of 28 priors, and many of these were promoted to be abbots and priors of great and important houses, as Durham, St. Mary's York, etc.

The first prior mentioned in the charters is a Radulph or Ralph, about 1130. Leland gives the name of a " Richard " as first prior, but no such name appears in the Register. The last prior was Ralph Hartley, who surrendered the priory on the 20th October, 1538, about 440 years after its foundation.

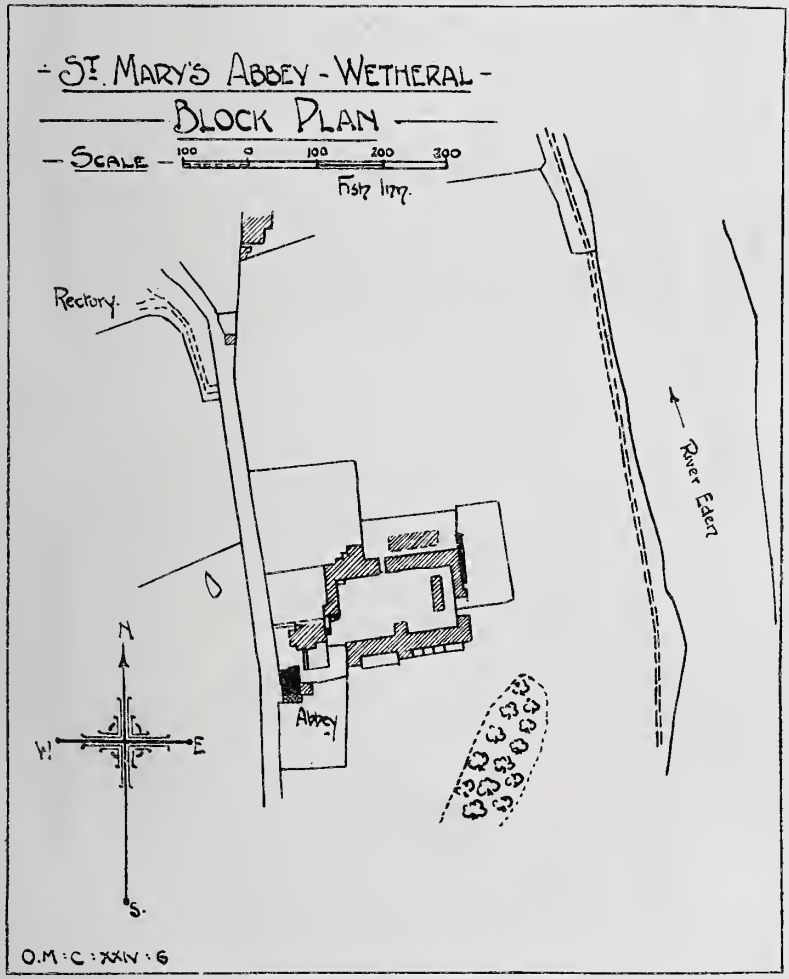
The site still retains its natural charm and is similar in character to such beautiful sites as Fountains, Easby or Bolton,—a bank sloping down to the river, with the monastic buildings on the plateau above. Of the buildings very little remains, except the gatehouse, which is a fine specimen of the architecture of the later days of the priory. All other traces seem to have been removed when the modern farm-buildings were erected, except a

wall to be mentioned later and, very probably, foundations below the ground.

The block of the gatehouse is some 36 feet by 29 feet, with a projection for a stair at the north-east angle. The entrance-passage runs east and west and is not in the centre of the block, but to the north end. The passage has a barrel-vault. The western or outer arch is segmental, 12 feet 3 ins. span, of two orders, the inner order being continued down the jambs; there is also a good hood-mould over the arch. The portion of the west wall, in which this arch is placed, projects two feet in front of the general walling, and this gives a total thickness of 6 feet 6 ins. to the wall, and space for the mural chambers on the upper floors. The other walls are 4 feet 6 ins. thick: all the walls continue the same thickness up to the parapet. The arch at the eastern or inner end of the passage is 13 feet 2 ins. span, that is, the full width of the passage, the arch springing directly from the walls. It is segmental, but slightly flatter than the western arch.

In the north wall of the passage is a door with a Carnarvon arch, now blocked. This opened into the buildings to the north, as indicated by the stone label for a roof on the north external wall. These buildings are now removed. The projection on the north-east angle contains the circular stair, 6 feet internal diameter, and continuing up to the roof. It is entered by a semicircular-headed door in the east wall from the outside of the tower, and at a level of three steps above the present ground. The south end of the tower contains a room about 17 feet 6 ins. by 10 feet, entered from the east side by a door with a pointed arch. It has a barrel-vaulted ceiling and has been lighted at each end by two loops: the west one has been enlarged and the east one is blocked.

Just outside the tower, to the south, is a cellar, about 5 feet below the present ground, approached by a straight flight of steps from the modern building on the east. It


St. Mary's Abbey - Wetheral -
Block Plan
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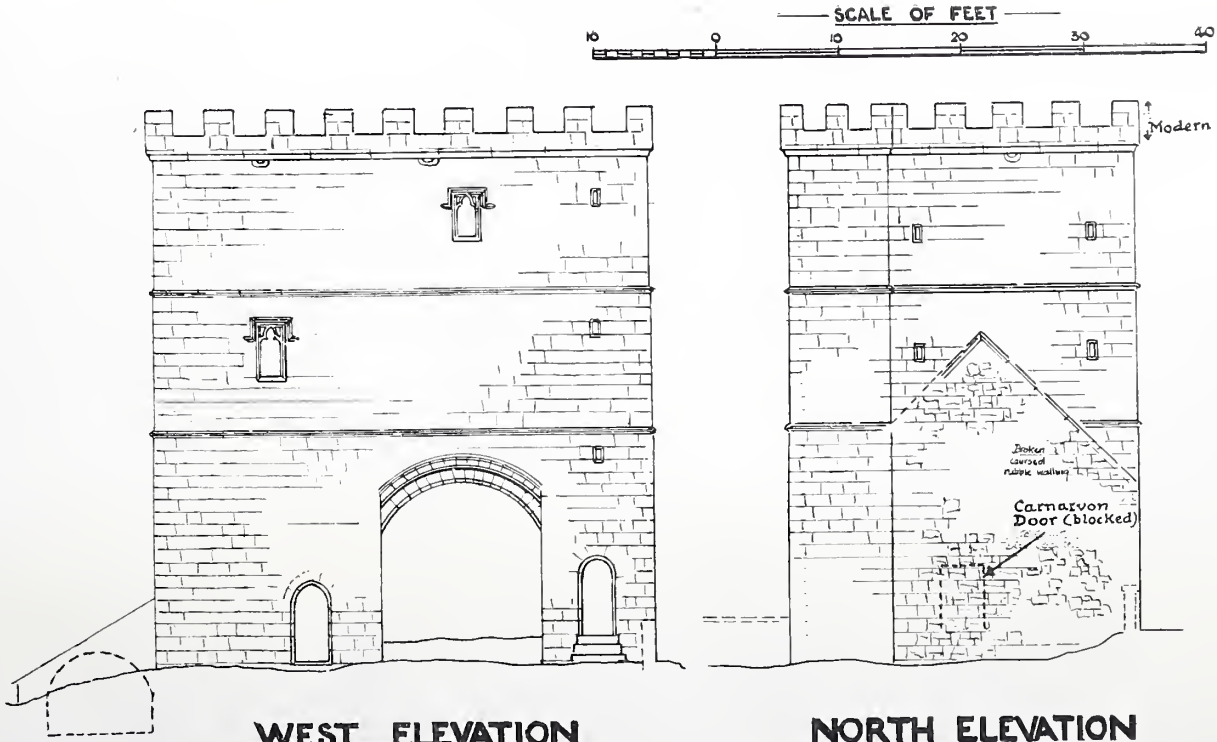
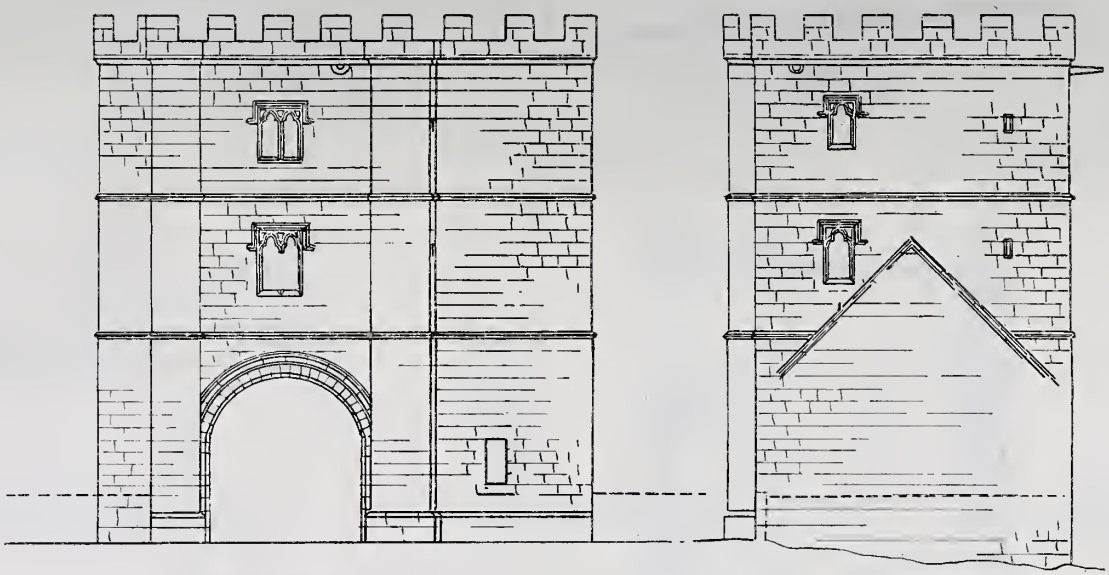


WEST ELEVATION

NORTH ELEVATION

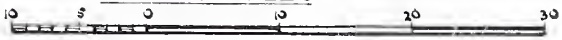


EAST ELEVATION **SOUTH ELEVATION**

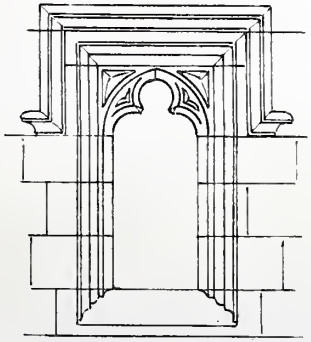
The Gatehouse, Wetheral Priory.
Measured and drawn by C. J. F. Martindale, A.R.I.B.A.

ST. MARY'S PRIORY
WETHERAL

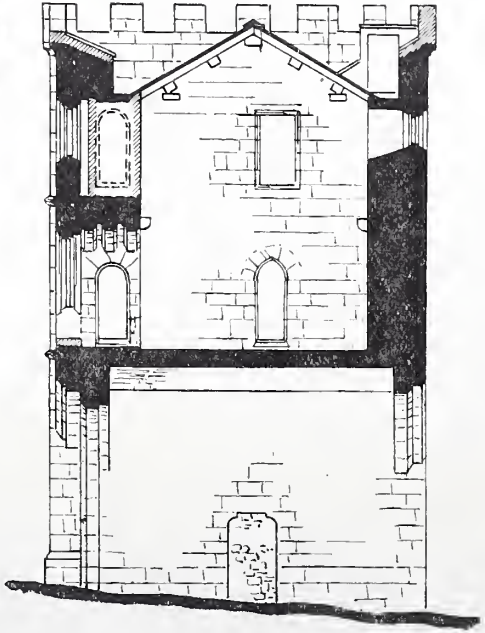
SCALE OF FEET



MEASURED & DRAWN BY
C. J. F. MARTINDALE, A.R.I.B.A

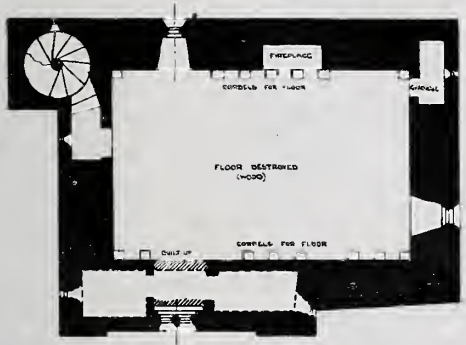


DETAIL OF WINDOW

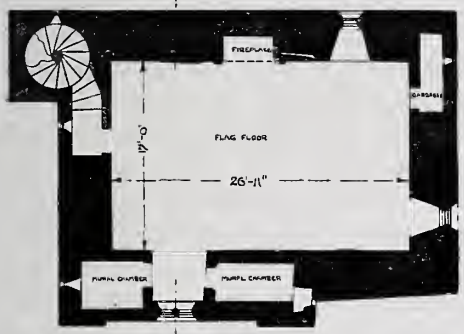


SECTION

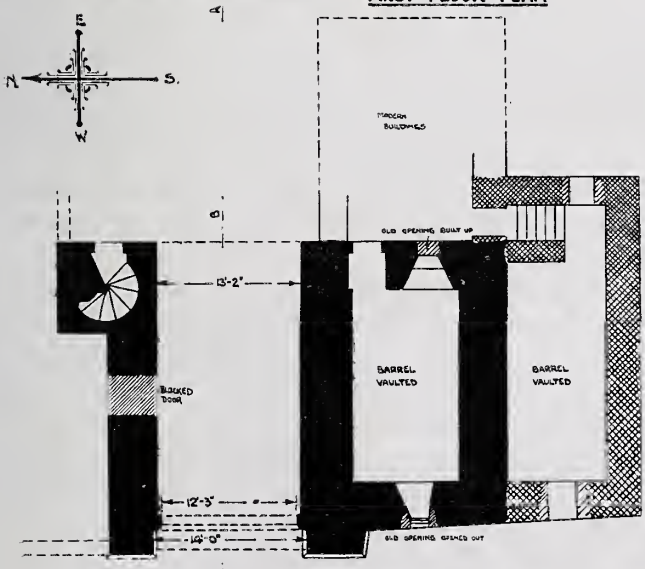
SCALE OF FEET



SECOND FLOOR PLAN



FIRST FLOOR PLAN



GROUND FLOOR PLAN

is about 23 feet by 9 feet and has a barrel vault. In its present condition, it is very uncertain as to its date, but I think it is later than the tower, although the roof-labels on the south wall again indicate buildings. The proverbial underground passage to Corby Castle started in this cellar. I daresay there is a cavity below the floor, but it probably has some connection with certain mural chambers, to be mentioned shortly, in the upper part of the tower.

The first floor is entered with a short mural passage from the circular stair by a pointed arched door. It is a single room 25 feet by 17 feet, lighted by three windows. The one over the entrance arch is a two-light: the other two, one east and one south, are single-light. All are well moulded, with cusped trefoil heads, and have external hood-moulds. There is a fireplace in this room in the east wall, and two mural chambers in the thick wall over the entrance arch, entered by doors in the deep reveals of the two-light window; each has a loop, one to the north, and one, contrived evidently for observation, in the angle formed by the projection, to look south to the open country. There is also a garderobe in the south-east angle lighted by a loop. The deep reveals of the two-light window have fine ribbed rear arches, somewhat similar in character to the windows in the prior's room in the tower of the Deanery at Carlisle. The sill and mullion of this window have been cut away, and the opening cut down to form a door when the tower was used for other purposes.

The large stone corbels to support the second floor remain, and are all on the long sides of the room, and are irregularly spaced, indicating a longitudinal wallplate and cross-beams resting on the top, rather than separate beams from corbel to corbel.

The second floor is approached by the circular stair in the same way as the first floor, that is, with a short mural

passage. The room, a single one, is similar to the one below, except that the single-light window on the east wall is on the north side of the fireplace.

There is a garderobe over the one below, now inaccessible. The two-light window in the west wall is blocked up from the inside, but there are evidently the two mural chambers, entered from the reveals as below; the loops to light them can be seen externally. The internal door-openings to these rooms all have stone dressings and splayed thresholds, indicating a step down into the main room in every case. The internal face of the wall is coursed and dressed ashlar, but at some later period, the walls have been plastered.

Continuing up the circular stair, the roof is reached, now covered with stone slates; but it is not the original roof, which was at a level of some 4 feet higher, as shown by the old level of parapet and gutter. The present door giving access to the roof is not the original, but the stair continued up about another turn to the level of the gutter, and was probably finished with a turret rising above the parapet. This turret is shown in one of Buck's views.

The external walling of the tower is regular coursed ashlar. There is a splay plinth on the west side only, and moulded strings at the upper floor-levels, on all sides. The oversailing course of the parapet is also original, but not the parapet itself. The stone shoot-pipes from the gutters remain on all faces, and fix the level of the ancient roof, and also indicate a gutter all round; that is, alures across the gabled ends on the thick walls, and the roof probably stone-slated; Buck's view again indicates this. On the north and south faces, as mentioned before, stone labels remain for steep-pitched roofs of buildings adjoining, and possibly contemporary with the tower, especially the one on the north front, where we have the door from the entrance passage, and the stronger evidence still in the wall face, below the roof line, being broken-coursed

facing, not ashlar. The existing building on the east front is much later in date.

So much for the entrance gatehouse of this once beautiful Priory. What remains are there of its monastic church and buildings? I am afraid, very few; few, at least, that are visible; but from appearances there may be more, below the surface. That the buildings were to the east of this gatehouse is certain, but the exact position of the church, and whether the monastic buildings were north or south of it, is uncertain. I am rather inclined to think they were to the north side. The church was always the most important part of the monastery, and St. Benedict laid down the principle that "nothing is to be preferred to the Opus Dei." The position of the church, therefore, influenced the whole plan. In England, for climatic reasons, it was usually on the north of the domestic buildings, but Canterbury and Chester are both examples of the church to the south; and if that were the case here, then the west end of the church would be facing you, as you entered the precincts by the gatehouse.

On the extreme east of the farm-buildings, some 250 feet away, a wall remains some 75 feet long, and 7 or 8 feet high, with a two-light window at its northern end, of about the same date as the window in the gatehouse, and I think three square-headed narrow windows, coming south. The extreme south end of this wall is broken away, but there are indications of a stair here, which is very like the fragment we found at Holme Cultram in a similar position, during the excavation, adjoining the Chapter House. There is a splay plinth the whole length on the east face of this wall. If this is a part of the eastern wall of the Chapter House, etc., then the cloister-garth would be about the present farmyard.

There are one or two carved corbels and many ancient stones built into the farm-buildings.

The monastic church had at least two altars: one

dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary, and the other to the Holy Trinity, and the charters give various dedications, as St. Mary and St. Constantine and Holy Trinity and St. Constantine. Two chapels are mentioned in the Register as belonging to the priory, one of St. Anthony and the other of St. Servanus or St. Severinus. The site of the former is supposed to have been on the road from Wetheral to Cumwhinton: the site of the latter has not been identified, but there is a tradition it was on the bank of the river to the east of the priory.

The priory had extensive fishing rights on the Eden, and, as usual a mill, so important an adjunct, lower down the river, just where the railway viaduct is now built.

The famous caves or cells of St. Constantine are a short distance up the river, and consist of three cells cut out of the solid rock, with an entrance corridor enclosed by a wall, containing windows looking over the river, and also a fireplace. Further up the river again is the Roman inscription on the face of the rock, recording the Twentieth Legion.

ART. XXIII.—*A Calendar of Grinsdale and Kirkandrews documents*, 1635—1817. By W. G. COLLINGWOOD, M.A., F.S.A.

Read at Carlisle, September 13th, 1921.

THIS paper owes its existence to Mr. Francis Grainger of Southerfield, who kindly procured the material from deeds relating to farms in Grinsdale and Kirkandrews-upon-Eden. The later fortunes of these estates do not concern us as antiquaries, but the earlier documents contain a good deal of the kind of interest for which we look. They relate the rise and fall of yeoman families in the old days of the Stuarts and the Georges, and this is always valuable to the pedigree-maker and the student of eugenics. They throw some light on obsolete dialect, and illustrate forgotten customs. Taken merely as curiosities, they contain relics of persons we know from history, in the shape of their seals and autographs.

The signatures of Squire Musgrave of Crookdake, 1656; of Sir John and Lady Ann Ballantyne, 1665; Lady Preston, 1725, and James, Earl of Lonsdale, 1792, take us far back in county history: so too the signatures of church dignitaries,—of Chancellor Tullie, 1708 and 1723; Registrar Aglionby, 1723; Registrar Jackson from 1749; Deputy Registrar Nicolson from 1756, and Bishop Fleming, 1739, 1740. But a still wider circle of readers would be interested in the beautifully written, round-hand autograph of "Jn°. Wordsworth steward of the said Barony" (of Burgh) in 1765. He was the father of the poet and lived from 1741 to 1783, the later part of his life at Cockermouth; an attorney-at-law and agent to Sir James Lowther, lord of the barony of Burgh; being also

a man of literary tastes and a lover of poetry. Mr. Gordon Wordsworth, who is the chief authority on his own family, accepts the identification, though he says that John Wordsworth has not been hitherto known have acted in this capacity of steward at the courts. This record therefore adds a mite to general knowledge.

The signatures of the yeomen and their women-folk are often well written, from the earliest periods onwards; but a large proportion of both sexes (about $\frac{5}{8}$) made their marks. The marks are very rarely mere shaky crosses, as of people who had never handled a pen. They are usually the initial letter of the name, firmly drawn, and suggest that the signatory or witness had learnt, but had no ordinary use for writing. William Coltherd, 1638, signs with a big Q; Edward Robson, 1658, with a reversed E; John Norman, 1693, with a figure like a Greek *theta*; Robert Hine, 1712, with a triangle; Joseph Hind, 1739, draws a kind of hurdle; John Robson, 1748, a fret in a circle. They attempted something distinctive as substitutes for their names. At Alston one of the ancient "pains" ran:—"That no man shall mark any other man's marke, but to marke and keep his own house marke"; and in Denmark, it seems, such a mark was used not only for cattle, but on a man's house, on his place in church, and on his grave (these *Trans.* o.s. viii, 37). The seals appear to be usually what the lawyer supplied. Viscountess Preston affixes her arms, in 1725, and there are several impressions of the episcopal and chancellery seals. Of the well-known Great Seal of Charles I. (1637), a finely designed and boldly modelled disc of crude wax, six inches across and nearly half an inch thick, only a part remains.

A few notes may be given on the leading families of Sibson, Hodgson, Robson and others; details can be left to the calendar which follows, and to the appendix on

various members of the Sibson family, from 1560, kindly contributed by Mr. George Sibson of Grinsdale.

Some — perhaps old-fashioned — readers remember Scott's little tale of "the Laird's Jock," John Armstrong, son of the Laird of Mangerton in Liddesdale, at the end of the sixteenth century. The title was not confined to Scotland, for about the same time, on our side of the border, lived 'Lard' (as it was then spelt) Tom Sibson of Grinsdale, and his son Matthew, known as "Lard's Mathew." The Lard held an estate in the Whitmore part of the manor; this was the Newton moiety of Grinsdale, which had gone to Martindales, and thence to William Dacre, who forfeited it for joining Leonard Dacre's rebellion (1568). The Queen granted it to Whitmore, and it was not until after the time of Laird Tom Sibson that Dacres regained it. In his manor-house there was some furniture which would be interesting if we could see it now; for "two Cubberts, one Counter (writing-table), two Chaires and a wood Chist with keys and locks," of the beginning of the 17th century, are older than most of the old oak of a domestic kind in Cumberland. After the Laird's death his family seem to have been in poor circumstances; they finally (1635–38) sold their house to a well-to-do man of their own name, no doubt a relative.

Richard Sybson, S.T.B., was fellow of Queen's College, Oxford (having matriculated as 'plebeius'), rector of Bowness, and then canon of Carlisle from 1603 to 1617.* He is confused in Dr. Hugh Todd's *Notitia* with Henry Sybson, D.D., rector of Bewcastle in 1643, according to Nicolson and Burn, but from these deeds we see he was

*This and the quotation from Feet of Fines I owe to the kindness of Canon Wilson of Dalston. Chancellor Ferguson's note from Gilpin in J. Denton's Accompt, p. 101, says that Dr. Henry Sibson's daughter Mary married Henry Dacre of Lanercost, and suggests that she brought him the manor of Caldcotes *alias* Harrington House. Their daughter Dorothy married her cousin, Joseph Appleby, who took the surname of Dacre and became the ancestor of the Dacres of Kirklinton. This Joseph Dacre rebuilt Grinsdale church (Mr. George Sibson of Grinsdale).

rector already in 1635.* About 1641-2 Dr. Sibson was a party to a fine touching the manor of Harrington House near Carlisle, the rectory of Grinsdale and appurtenances in Calcoats, Brisco and the city of Carlisle, from which it would appear that he alienated the property to Ric. Skelton, junior, Ric. Eglisfield, George Graime, Edw. Fletcher, clerk, Ric. Skelton, senior, and Hen. Eglisfield (*Feet of Fines*, 17 Charles I., Michaelmas).

It was to Dr. Henry Sibson, but for the use of his son John, then a student at St. John's College, Cambridge, that the Laird's Mathew and his mother Jane sold their property for £60. In 1751, Thomas Sibson bought a large estate at Grinsdale from Joseph Dacre esq. of Kirklinton Hall, and sold it soon afterwards to his brother John. In 1765, Thomas Sibson sold land to the value of £97, but the landowners in 1798 and 1860 still included different Thomas Sibsons as important persons in the parish, with others of the name. Of the Thomas Sibson who lived there in the middle of the 19th century Whellan says that he destroyed the last remains of the Roman Wall in Bleachhouse field, when he straightened the path between Grinsdale and Kirkandrews. Well! our Society was not then founded, or we should have tried to persuade him to sacrifice a little of the straight line: and yet path-making is always a good work.

After the Sibson deeds the next oldest is a Licence of Alienation under the Great Seal, September 1, 1637, with a bit of King Charles I. on his throne still visible. For the sum of 3s. 4d. that king permits his well-beloved Thomas Carlile—namesake of Cromwell's apologist—to sell the farm he had inherited from his father of similar name; part of the property being "holden by knight's service or in capity [*sic*] of the king's most excellent ma'tie." Richard Backhouse, the buyer, sold in 1676 to

* Mr. George Sibson says that he was warden of the Western Marches. Richard Sibson, A.B., was incumbent of Irthington, 1642.

Thomas Backhouse of Burgh, whose will, 1729, left it to his son-in-law, Samuel Hodgson, who, in 1765, left it to his daughter, wife of Robert Blamire. This appears to be the estate which Joseph Blamire gave to his wife, afterwards Mrs. Westray; at whose death in 1843 it was sold in three portions to Messrs. Thomas Sibson, Thomas Robson and Sibson Graham.

Various Hodgsons occur from 1638: one important line comes in with John Hodgson of Rocliff, yeoman, who in 1741 bought a small piece of land in Kirkandrews. In 1750 he bought "all that ffour days work or ffour customary acres of meadow ground at the west end of Carr meadow in Beaumont." In 1753 he offered 6s. for Neddy's Well, a spring in Kirkandrews, "together with the Water Stones and appurtenances," but seems to have been involved in a dispute with the owner, Joseph Irving. Irving was a weaver, who had bought land in Kirkandrews and set up as yeoman; he died in 1793 leaving a curious will and a son Jonathan who was a merchant in Newcastle. The dispute was settled, and Irving and the Hodgsons witnessed one another's deeds in the friendliest way thereafter, both parties acquiring and prospering. John Hodgson married Margaret Robson, and had a son John to whom he left, in 1770, the reversion of his property at Astonby, Kirklinton, when the younger son Edmund should be 24, and have had the revenues meanwhile to support him at a grammar school and college. No Edmund Hodgson appears among Cumberland and Westmorland clergy, and he is not mentioned in these deeds later; like some studious boys from the farms—unlike the early Sibsons—he may have died young. His sisters married John Graham and William Heskett, the latter of Plumpton Park, who came to grief, and after borrowing £700—chiefly from his brother-in-law John—died a failure. This John Hodgson the younger was a bachelor and very prosperous. He never kept house, but

went on adding to his property until he died in 1813—no longer a yeoman but a gentleman, worth £1424 13s. 7d. personalty besides considerable real estate. He left a will in which is the bequest to his nephew William Graham of his "share of tithes called a Noublesworth," which, as a noble was 6s. 8d., seems to mean a third of the whole tithes; but the word is not in the dictionaries. The main bequests were keenly contested, but it was ultimately awarded by Messrs. Silas Saul and John Robinson of Carlisle that Mr. and Mrs. Graham were to keep the property at and near Kirkandrews, leaving Little Astonby with a sum of money to the younger Heskett. And so the estate came down to those who recently parted with it.

The elder John Hodgson had married Margaret Robson, we said, and we must add a few words about her family. As early as 1653 John Robson of Kirkandrews, yeoman, was buying land and houses: in 1658 he bought more from William Musgrave of Crookdake. But by the death of both the vendor and his son and heir, and the claim of a relative, this purchase was not completed until 1664, by the deed of Sir John Ballantyne and Lady 'An,' as she spelt it. Edmund Sandford, ten years later, had not yet learnt the name of the Scotch doctor, new to the county, and called him "Sir John Ballington of Crockdake, marrying the heir of late Sir William Musgrave." Sir John now for £6 quitclaimed to John Robson, already in possession, all the interests in the premises "and of the seigniorie and ffee simple... John Robson to appeare and doe Suite of Court once in the yeare at the Court Baron for ye manor of Stainton"; but he and his representatives "shall not be pressed by any compulsory meanes to serve upon any jury or to undergoe any Office att ye courts for ye Lord, and pay ye yearely a[moun]t of two pence as a free and quite Rent." John Robson's next purchase was "Half a Boat of Water" at Cargo: 'boat' in the sense of *boot* or *bote*, right of use, and meaning a share in fishery

rights. He must have known all about the prototypes of Nanty Ewart and the people in *Redgauntlet*. He seems to have died in 1675, for his son, of the same name, was admitted to his tenement in Kirkandrews, and he too acquired property—land in Cargo Holm and an inclosure on the common allotted him by his neighbours in exchange for his common rights. In 1710 he died leaving a widow Elizabeth and three young daughters who inherited. But there were many other Robsons in the parish. One was "late of the city of London" returning with money to the North and buying in 1732 a house with a barn "containing three rooms in length," which seems to mean an old building on siles, three bays long. John Robson, tailor, died in 1748, so that the John Robson, yeoman, who bought property in 1738 may be the man who died before 1767 leaving daughters both married to Hodgsons, by whom their line, as already noticed, was continued.

Other local names are those of Studholme, a family which had owned a moiety of Grinsdale from the time of Edward III.; Liddell, Sturdy or Stordy, Hine or Hinde, Barne or Barnes and Burton, all running through the 17th and 18th centuries. Norman comes in late in the 17th century; earlier in that century we find Noble, Taylor, Johnson, Birney, Wayby, Coltherd and Dixon, with a few Scottish names—Johnston, 1655, Douglas, 1656, and much later Edger of Gretna, 1774. The vicar of Burgh for half the 18th century was Thomas Ismay who married a Wilson of Burgh; according to Whellan his granddaughter, Mrs. French of Chelsea, was a benefactor of the parish in the 19th century.

These notices of families in no very conspicuous walk in life are not without value. Among other points they show how incessant was the change, the struggle for life, the come-and-go of fortune even in a quiet place in those "good old times" we often imagine as somewhat stagnant. They show how, from quite early days, the educa-

tional ladder was open to the competent, in spite of rustic surroundings; how one and another rose from the ranks by business aptitude or intellectual ability, and how, as Tennyson's Northern Farmer said, "Proputty, proputty sticks and proputty, proputty graws."

One further illustration of the old times is worth giving here to show the stringency of the conditions under which ordinary tenants still lived in the 18th century, and to add an unusual word to our vocabulary. It is a lease of High Moat in Kirkandrews in 1725 from Anne, Viscountess Dowager Preston, to a group of tenants: she was the widow of the second Lord Preston, son of Sir Richard Graham of Netherby, who had been raised to the peerage in 1680 and took an important part in local and general affairs. By this lease all trees and woods, mines and quarries, hawking and hunting, fishing and fowling, are safeguarded to the landowner; the tenants must every year plant eight young ashes, oaks or elms, and preserve them from lopping and topping, hurt and spoil of beasts; they must use all the straw and hay growing on the premises and the manure and compost thereon; they must attend Court Leet and Court Baron; they must grind their corn in the mill "to which the *Sooken* therein doth belong or appertain or where any former tenant used to grind"—the *Sucken*, as we usually spell it; that is, the duty of tenants with regard to their lord's mill for a given area; and they must perform all such boon-days, duties and services as have been customary, including the payment of "all that duty called Kaine Fowl."

The word *Kain* or *Cain* is not generally known to have been used in England: the Oxford Dictionary limits it to Scotland and Ireland. It represents the Gaelic *cáin*, tribute or payment in kind; "cain fowls" is a phrase known in Scots law. But perhaps the charter of Huctred f. Fergus of about 1170 (quoted by the Rev. F. W. Ragg

in these *Transactions*, N.S. xvii, 218) shows how the word, spelt in the twelfth century *chaan*, may have come into Cumberland during the period of Scottish rule. The word *kend* in the Milburn Register, 1678—"paid her kend and 2½d."—is no doubt the same, perhaps modified because it was understood as a payment in "kind." This instance of 1725 is nearly 50 years later, and the long survival is curious.

Some more old dialect words are found in the field-names, for ancient forms are now and then embedded in place-names like fossils in the soil, long after their conversational use has died out. A few of the more remarkable may be mentioned:—

Bralages, 1658. *Lag* in Lake-district place-names means a hollow spot; it seems to be Gaelic in origin and is used in the Isle of Man, whence it might have been brought by the Vikings. Here it has the Norse *breid* broad, prefixed.

Breeches, 1722; Breeches Heads, 1739; Uppermer Breeches Close, 1741. In N. Cumbd. "breek" is the portion of land ploughed out of ley, or arable land in grass (Prevost). *Breaks*, as a Yorkshire place-name, means unenclosed arable land; for example, "an essart called Newebrekk," 1348, now Brecks Hill near Rotherham. The transition from *breeks* to *breeches* is natural—and amusing.

Chirm in a 19th century survey of Grinsdale is the "Cherim and Carr Head" of 1798. The association with *carr*, marsh, suggests the other derivative of O.N. *kjarr*, marshy wood, which is found in Yorkshire as *cheer* or *chare* (Goodall, *Plns. of S.W. Yorks.*, 100, 102). The full form of Cherim would be 'chare-holm,' O.N.* *kjarr-hólmr*. Compare Chareaire in Ainstable (Prescott, *Wetherhal*, 268) about 1240; probably *kjarr-eyrr*.

Drouks, 1722; perhaps the Icelandic *drög*, watercourse.

Faun Rigg, 1722. If this is for *forn*, it may be the O.N.

word for 'old.' We have Fornside near Keswick and anciently Fornthwaite near Ulverston; perhaps from a personal name, also meaning 'old.'

Gullylands, 1658, 1739; Gullen Rigg, 1722. The Cumbd. *gully* means any slack or hollow, not only a rock-chimney. 'Gullen' would be a contraction of 'Gullyland, as Gullom for Gullyholme.

Hayning, 1722, is common in various forms—Haining, Heaning, Hening, Hining, Hinning—and in Gospatrick's charter of about 1050, "on heininga"; from O.N. *hegna*, to fence; an "inclosure."

Line Rudd Rigg, 1722. *Line* is flax. *Rudd* from O.N. *rud*, M.E. *rode*, parallel to the Yorkshire *royd*, though now lost in Cumberland where a clearing is called a "ridding."

Loneing Rigg, 1739; usually "lonnin"; Scots and Furness *loaning*, lane.

Mill Gavel, 1739. A gavel-dyke, according to Prevost, is an allotment of fence liable to be maintained by a farm not adjoining it. It may be asked whether *gavel* here is confused with *cavel*, lot, still used in Cumberland for a miner's working-place or allotment, but in older English meaning any share of land. The mill-gavel would be a detached piece belonging to the mill.

Millings, 1658; the mill's meadows: Cumbd. *ing*; O.N. *eng*, meadow.

Organ Rigg, 1722, 1739: perhaps "o'ergang," a rigg that overstepped the rest, or which was crossed by a path.

Pallet Ridge, 1712; Palat rigg, 1739. *Pallet* in old English and in the *Barnabee* of Braithwaite, the Burneside poet, meant "head." Compare Pallet Hill near Newton Reigny, Palet in 1293.

Sandy Hills, 1781, seems to have been the Saunders Hill of 1722.

Scab, 1722; Scabs, 1739, looks like the N. Cumbd. *Scap*, for "scalp." *Scopy* means thin or bare of soil, as on the head of a crow (Prevost). *Scaup*, *scalp*, in Scots

and N. English is a bare rock standing out of water or grass (N.E.D.).

Sivesfield, 1658; Cumbd. *sieve*, rush; O.N. *sef*, sedge.

In the following calendar, G indicates the deeds belonging to the Grinsdale property, and K those referring to Kirkandrews-upon-Eden. A few which are now missing are described from an old schedule.

G. Aug. 20, 1635. Noverint vniversi per presentes me Mathew Sibson alias Lard Mathew in Com' Cumbrie yeoman Teneri... Johanni Sibson filio Henrici Sibson Sancte Theologie professoris in Com' predict' in duodecem libris bone et legalis monete Anglice Soluendis dicto Johanni Sibson aut suo certo in Carlyle Atturnato [etc.]...If the aboue bounden Mathew Sibson ...keepe all and singular the covenants [etc.] in one writeing or deed of sale... for and consideringe two acres of eareable land... in the fields of Grinsdale...of the annuall Rent of ffowerpence... then this present obligation to be voyde... [witnesses:] Henry Sibson junior, William Taylor his marke + Stephen Sibson with other.

G. Feb. 23, 1635-6. Mathew Sibson alias Lards Mathew of Grinsdale...eoman [sells to] John Sibson sonne of Henry Sibson Doctor of Devinity now Student in St. John Colledge in Cambridge... for Three score pounds... All that his Messuage Tenement or Fermehoulde with the appurtenances of the Annuall Rent of fowerteine shillings 6d. scituate ...within the Towneshipp... of Grinsdaile... (and likewise these implements remaning in the mansiō house Two Cubberts one Counter Two chaires and a wood Chist with keyes & lockes thereto belonging) together with Alle his... customary estate [subject to an] Annual Rent of ffowerteine shillings 6d. and other dueties and services fines and girsoms* from hencefourth to be due to the sade Doctor Sibson and 5s. to M. Whitmoore... [witnesses:] Stephen Sibson, William Birney, Henry Noble.

G. Same date and witnesses. Mathew Sibson's receipt for £60 paid him by Henry Sibson, D.D., parson of Bewcastle and John Sibson his sonne now student in St. Joh. College in Cambridge.

G. Same date and witnesses. Mathew Sibson's bond of performance in £120.

G. Sept 1, 1637. Licence of alienation under the Great Seal

* *Gersum, gressome*, fine payable upon admission to a holding.

...pro tribus solidis et quatuor denariis... dilecto nobis Thome Carlell quod ipse unum messuagium et octo acras terre prati et pasture cum pertinenciis in Grinsdale... que de nobis teneat in capite... dare possit... dilecto nobis Rico. Backhouse..... [signed] Bacon.*

G. Jan. 17, 1637-8. Thomas Carlile of the Cittie of Carlell... marchant... by the death of Thomas Carlile his late father became seazed in ffee of seuerall messuages [etc.] in the Towne and feildes of Grindsdale... conteyning about twenty Acres of arable Land meadow and grassing... a part whereof was and is holden by knights service or in capity of the king's most excellent ma' tie And was lately purchased from Thomas Dalston of mirkeholme gent^{n} [and now sells the same to] Richard Backhus of Whitriglees... yeoman... The sayd Thomas Carlile and Mary his wife now being & theyre heyr... make [etc.] all such assurances [etc.] as shall be lawfully devised [etc.]

[Endorsed] Signed... And full & peaceable possession livery & seazin... was gyven [etc.] in presence of... Richard Sibson, George Sibson his m'ke N, John Mathew of Kirkburton his m'ke O, John Hodgson, John Hine his m'ke +, William Coltherd his m'ke Q, Thomas Hynde his m'ke X, Ge : Skelton.

K. April 5, 1638. Jane Sibson of Grinsdale widow of Thomas Sibson alias Lard Tom for a certeine some of money [assigns] unto the said Henry Sibson, D.D., and John Sibson his sonne all [her] widow right [etc. in a] tenement in Grinsdale late belonging to Thomas Sibson alias Lard... of the Annuall Rent of fowerteene shillings and sixpence. [Witnesses] John Sturdy his m'ke. Thomas Sibson, Mathew Sibson his m'ke, John Johnson his m'ke, Robert Wayby his m'ke, Geo: Millikin clarke.

K. May 12, 1653. Bond in Latin and English of Richard Hodgson of Dickesfeild, Brough by Sands, gentleman, to John Robson of Kirkanders on Eden, yeoman, in £112 to perform Agreements set down in one Deed of Sale. [Witnesses] John Liddell, Edward Robson E, Jo : Davison.

K. Feb. 13, 1655-6. Bond, all in English, of George Johnston of Grinsdale, yeoman, to Thomas Robson of Kirkanders, younger, yeoman, in £51, to keep agreements "in one Indenture of saill." [Witnesses] Rich : Studholme, Richard Dixon m'ke R, James Do^{u}glas, Jo : Mark m'ke E.

K. Jan. 25, 1657-8. William Musgrave of Crookdaike, esquire, appoints John Hodgson of Langbrough, yeoman, his

* Not, of course, the great Lord Bacon, who died in 1626.

attorney to deliver "seizon" of a messuage etc. in Kirkanders unto John Robson. [Witnesses:] Thomas Wilson his m'ke U, Thomas Robson his m'ke U.

[The old schedule mentions also a deed poll of the same date, William Musgrave granting to John Robson a tenement in Kirkandrews, rent 6s. 8d. with the seigniory and fee simple; and William Musgrave's bond in £40 of the same date. Also a bond of June 6, 1660, from the same to the same in £40 for further assurance.]

K. Nov. 17, 1658. Elizabeth Burton, relict of Edward Burton of Kirkanders and the late sister and heire of Willm. Taylor, sonne and heire of Thomas Taylor... for £8... paid.. by John Robson of the same, yeoman... haith granted [him] all that her acre of arable land... in the fields of Kirkanders in seuerall places... halfe acre lying in Gullylands Adjoining to the lands of William Threlkeld on the east and John Hodgson of Sivesfeild and Elinor his wife on the west, and Two roods... on the Millings adjoyneing to Stephen Robson on the east And Willm. Burton on the west. The other rood lying on the Bralages adioyneing to the sd. Stephen Robson on the east and the sd. Willm. Burton on the west... Elizabeth Burton mark B. [Witnesses:] Thom' Robson of Kirkanders young^r m'ke T, Edward Robson of the same m'ke H, Robt. Robson of the same m'ke R, Joseph Jefferson.

[The old schedule mentions Eliz. Burton's bond in £16 to John Robson, of the same date, for the sale of an acre in Kirkandrews.]

K. March 18, 1664-5. Sir John Ballentine of Crokdake to John Robson of Kirkanders. Whereas William Musgrave of Crokdake esqre dec[ease]d by his Deed poll 22nd Dec. 1657 [*sic*] did for £25 grant to John Robson one messuage and tenement at Kirkanders and the seigniorie Lordshippe... and absolute ffee simple thereof for ye yearely Rent of 6s. 8d.... and although afterwards in pursuance of the said deedpoll a ffine was duely levyed by the said Williā Musgrave, & William Musgrave his sonn, and heire apparent, unto hī the said John Robson, yett in regard they both dyed since without issue male of either and for y^t it is p'tended there was a Remainder in taile setled upon one Williā Musgrave gentn... wch said Remainder upon the decease of both of them did actually vest in the said Williā the uncle whose right the said Sr John Ballentine hath since purchased Now... Sr. John Ballentine... for £6... hath quite claimed... to John Robson (being in actuall possession...) all the... interests in the said p'mises, and of... the seigniorie... and ffee simple...

John Robson to appear and doe Suite of Court once in the yeare at the Court Baron... for ye manor of Stainton... [and] shall not be pressed... by any compulsory meanes... to serue upon any Jury, or to undergoe any Office att ye Courts for ye Lord... and pay... ye yearely r[en]t of two pence as a free and quite Rent... and Sir John Ballentine... warrants... John Robson against hī the said Sr. John Ballentine & Dame Ann his wife, & Mary Chartres widdow, and Dorothy Musgrave spinster Sisters of the said Dame Ann... [Signed] Johne Ballantyne, An Ballantyne.

[Endorsed; witnesses] Robt: Hodgson, Will. Wilkinson, John Ramsay mark R. it is to be noted heare that there is a ffyne of recouery serued out for the within mentioned premisses And is at Samuell Hodgsons in Longbrough and serues for both our estates.

K. Same date. Sir John Ballantyne's bond in £30 to John Robson in respect of the above indenture.

K. March 6, 1666-7. Bond of Thomas Robson of Kirkanders, yeoman, in £40 to Robert Robson of the same, yeoman, on an indenture of Sale of one cottage, half an acre arable, and house in Kirkanders. Thomas Robson signs with his mark, a hand. Witnesses: John Liddell, ffrancis Story, John Henderson.

K. Oct. 3, 1674; from the old schedule. Deed poll and bond in £50 from Thomas Stagg of Cargo to John Robson for Half a Boat of water, consideration £7 10s.

K. April 14, 1675. Admittance, at the court at Burgh before John Aglionby, steward, of John Robson for a cottage and land in Kirkandrews, ancient rent 2s., fine £2: signed J. Henderson.

G. Dec. 13, 1676. Richard Backhouse of Whitrigge Leas, yeoman, sells to Thomas Backhouse of Burgh by Sands for £16 a house and land in Grinsdale. Witnesses: W. Henderson, Jo: Henderson, John Hewson his m'ke ⊥, Stephen Barne his m'ke S.

K. May 12, 1683; from the old schedule. Richard Hodgson of Dykesfield gent^n. sells to John Robson of Kirkanders for £56 one-fortieth of the tithe: with bond in £122.

K. April 4, 1684. Admittance at the court at Burgh before John Aglionby, of Robert Robson for one cottage, ancient rent 8d., fine 13s. 4d.; signed, W. Henderson.

K. Dec. 18, 1688; from the old schedule. Indenture and bond; Thomas Bone of Cargo sells to John Robson for £6 an acre in Cargo Holm, paying a yearly free rent of 9d. to the Lord of the fee.

K. Jan. 20, 1692-3. Indenture, ffrancis Threlkeld, Thomas Robson, John Hinde, William Burton, John Norman, John Liddall and John Hodgson of Kirkandrs upon Eden, yeomen... give in exchange... to John Robson of the same, yeoman... for his right unto eighty four acres of comon waste or wast ground scituate in Kirkandrs Moor holden of ye Rigt honn'ble Sir John Lowther* [the following pieces of ground :] one parcell of comon ...two acres... haueing ye Kinge Street way adjoyning to it on ye South side Theirof and ye grounde of Henry & John Robson adjoyning to it on ye North side theirof and a curent of water caled Milnbecke on ye East side theirof and Longlands gate adjoyning to it on the West side theirof. [Signed] John Lidall, Thomas Robson T, frances thelkett +, John Hinde, William Burton W, John Norman θ, John Hodgson Mark ⊥. [Witnesses :] John Wilson O, John Smith.

K. Dec. 10, 1708. Letters of administration to Agnes, widow of John Hind of Kirkandrews, yeoman ; signed Thomas Tullie †.

K. Oct. 11, 1710. Admittance at the court at Burgh before John Aglionby, of John Robson for a messuage in Kirkandrews, ancient rent 2s. and services ; fine £4, half to be remitted. Signed Jo : Henderson, clerk of the court.

K. Jan. 26, 1711-2. Robert Hine in ye Parish of Kirkand' upon Eden, yeoman, sells to Isaac Hine [also spelt Hinde] weaver the freehold estate Pallet Ridge in Kirkandrews for £14 7s., subject to rent 3s. and services and dues accustomed to the Rt. Hon. Richard, Lord Viscount Lonsdale. Signed Robert Hine mark ∇ ; witnesses : Joseph Hodgson, Jacob Losh, Tho : Lewthat. Endorsed, Sept. 27, 1712, possession given to Isaac Hine by me, Robt. Hine ; Test. Joseph Hodgson, Stephen Robson.

K. Nov. 29, 1714 : from the old schedule ; release from Thomas Robson of Harraby to John Robson, executor of the will of John Robson of Kirkandrews.

K. Dec. 18, 1722. Robert Norman of Kirkanders sells for £160 to Isaac Hinde the following in Kirkandrews :—Clossett Rigg, half an acre ; Gullen Rigg, half an acre ; Line Rudd Rigg, half an acre ; Faun Rigg, one rood ; Little Organ Rigg, one rood ; Saunders Hill Butts, half an acre ; West Organ Rigg, half an acre ; one parcell lying at Drouks in Intack, half an acre ; three acres in the west of Hayning adjoining lands of John Liddall

* The Barony of Burgh was sold by the descendants of the Earl of Arundel in 1688 to Sir John Lowther, who became Viscount Lonsdale in 1696.

† Chancellor 1683—1727.

east and west; one parcell called Breeches, one acre; Little Breeches, one rood; the Scab, one rood; the Croft, half an acre; Muckle Meadow, half an acre. Witnesses: John Liddell, Wm. Burton his m^rke B, Jno Norman his m^rke N, W. Rook.

K. June 8, 1723. Letters of administration to Elizabeth Robson of Kirkand^rs, widow, as guardian to Margaret, Anne and Mary Robson, daughters and heiresses of the late John Robson, minors. Signed, Thomas Tullie [LL.D., Official]; Ri. Aglionby, Reg'rarius.

G. Oct. 16, 1724. Admittance of Margaret Robson, daughter and heiress of John Robson, to a tenement in Kirkanders, rent 11s. 1d., fine £2 1s. 8d. Signed, John Cockell, steward.

K. March 27, 1725. The Rt. Hon. Anne, Lady Viscountess Dowager Preston grants to Peter Wilson, Andrew and Thomas Litle, William Edger, James Underwood, Robert Peill, Sara and Thomas Morton and Jane Murray, widow, a lease of High Moat in Kirkandrews, excepting the woods, underwoods and trees, mines, quarries and stone, ingress and egress with wains or carts, etc.and liberty to hawk and hunt, fish and fowl: To have and to hold severally and without benefit of survivorship from Feb. 2nd last past for eleven years if the said Viscountess shall so long live, at a rent of £35 10s. payable May 2, Aug. 2, Nov. 2, and Feb. 2, and all that duty called Kaine Fowle and all such other Boondays, duties and services as have been done by Peter Wilson, etc. or former tenants; they shall well and sufficiently uphold the premises and so yeild up the same... grind all the corne in such mill or mills of the Viscountess Preston to which the Sooken thereof doth belong...And shall every year plant... eight young Ashes, Oakes or Elms... and preserve from lopping and topping, hurt and spoil of Beast... and shall use all the straw and hay growing upon the premises and the manure and compost thereon... attend Court Leet and Court Baron of the Lord Viscount Preston ...and permit Lady Preston to improve the wastes and commons of Kirkandrews. (Signed) Ann Preston. (Witnesses:) Tho: Beaver, J: Carleton.

G. May 14, 1725. Will of Thomas Backhouse of Grinsdale. To his wife Dorothy all his tenements at Grinsdale for her life; after her death to his son-in-law Samuell Hodgson of Kirkanders, yeoman, and his heirs, subject to payments at the end of one year after the death of testator or his wife, namely—to his grandchildren Martha and Mary Johnston £25 each; to his grandchildren Joseph, Mary, Elizabeth, Dorothy and Margaret Hewet £10 each; to his grandchildren Mary, Dorothy, Gerard, Thomas and Jane

Stalker £10 each; to his daughters Anne and Grace Backhouse £105 between them; to his sons-in-law John Johnston, Henry Hewet, John Stalker and Samuel Hodgson half-a-crown each. Personalty to his wife and daughters Anne and Grace. Witnesses, Thomas Robson mk. TR, Edward Robson, William Stordy. Copy for probate signed Joseph Pattinson, March 29, 1729.

K. March 22, 1732-3. Thomas Robson, late of London and now of Kirkandrews and Mary Stordy of Carlisle widow sell to Jeremiah Moore of Great Orton, shoemaker, for £52 10s. property in Kirkandrews—a house called the Chamber and barn, between the chief mansion house of T. Robson and the Kings Street leading through Kirkandrews; a barn containing three rooms in length, bounded with the ground of Isaac Hind on the north and the Kings Street on the south; a garden adjoining the last; two riggs at the Croft, half an acre, between the grounds of Isaac Hind on north and south; half an acre at the Croft heads, between Isaac Hind on the north and Margaret Robson on the south; half an acre at the Breechey heads adjoining Isaac Hind on the N.E. and Margaret Robson on the S.W.; and half an acre at the Breechey Rigg adjoining John Simpson on the N.E. and Isaac Hind on the S.W. Witnesses: Tho: Lewthwait, William Stordy.

K. Same date and witnesses. Thomas Robson and Mary Stordy sell to John Robson of Kirkandrews, taylor, for £40 a close of two acres arable in the Townfields of Kirkandrews at Intacks adjoining the close of Thomas Robson on the south and that of Margaret Robson on the north; subject to 3d. prescription every year to the Rector of Kirkandrews in lieu of all tithes and "one farthing penny* to each purvey" and suit of court.

K. Oct. 25, 1738. Joseph Hind of Little Orton, yeoman, agrees to sell all his freehold lands in Cumberland to John Robson of Kirkandrews, yeoman, for £213 3s. Signed, Joseph Hind his mark ⅃, John Robson his mark +. Witnesses: Tho: Lewthwait, Thomas Blain, Timothy Twentyman, Jno. Norman.

K. Jan. 1, 1738-9. Joseph Hind of Little Orton sells to Margaret Robson of Wigganby, spinster, for £96 11s. 6d., land in Kirkandrews:—half an acre at Crofts, adjoining Jeremiah Moore on S. and Margaret Robson on N.; half an acre at Scabs, adjoining J. Moore on N. and M. Robson on S.; one rood at Loneing rigg

* A "farthing noble" was the quarter of a noble; in the Lindisfarne Gospels, Mark xii, 42 is rendered "two stycas that is *feorthung penninges*," a quarter of a penny: so that "farthing penny" is the ancient expression in full for what is usually called a farthing.

adjoining M. Robson on N. and the Kings Street on S.; one acre at Breeches Heads adjoining J. Moore on N. and William Liddle on S.; half an acre at Little Organ Rigg adjoining John Hind on N. and Thomas Simpson on S.; half an acre at Mill Gavel, adjoining John Norman on S. and Thomas Robson on N.; 1½ acre at Little Haining, adjoining John Norman on E. and Joseph Robson on W.; four acres holden of the Rt. Hon. Henry, Viscount Lonsdale by annual payment of 1s. 6d. at Great Palat rigg, adjoining Robert Robson on W. and John Robson on E. and the Kings Street on S.; three acres of turf ground at Kirksteeds, adjoining John Robson on W. and Joseph Robson on E.; one acre and a half of turf ground at Far Moore, adjoining John Norman on N. and Isable Norman on S. and Wm. Laminby on W. and Millbeck on E.; all free except for rents and services due to the Lord. Signed, Joseph Hind his m'rk ~~HH~~. Witnesses: Timothy Twentyman, Jonathan Hodson, Josiah Johnson, John Norman.

K. Same date and witnesses. Joseph Hind sells to John Robson of Kirkandrews, taylor, for £116 7s. 6d., two acres arable at Sandy Hill close; adjoining Robert Norman on W. and Isable Norman on E.; half an acre at Organ rigg, adjoining Isable Norman on W. and Wm. Burton on E.; half an acre at Gully Lands, adjoining Wm. Burton on W. and Margaret Robson on E.; one rood arable at Bottom Butt, adjoining Margaret Robson on E. and Thomas Simpson on W.; one rood arable at Common Gard Butts, adjoining John Hind on W. and Thomas Robson on E.; three acres arable at Great Hainings, adjoining the close of Joseph Robson on E. and Wm. Liddle on W.; two inclosures (three acres) at Palate rigg, held under Viscount Lonsdale, rent 1s. 6d., adjoining Robert Robson on E., Margaret Robson on W. and the Kings Street on S.; one acre of turf ground at Palate rigg sike, adjoining Robert Robson on W. and Wm. Norman on E.; three acres of turf ground at Kirksteads, adjoining the close of Wm. Liddle and Line Moss on W. and Margaret Robson on E.; and one parcel of turf ground at far Moore, adjoining Margaret Robson on S., the Kings Street on N., William Laminby Close on W. and Millbeck on E.

G. Jan. 1, 1738-9. Licence to Thomas Ismay, clerk, as curate of Brugh by Sands, stipend of £15 from the Rev. Thomas Story, vicar. Signed, Jos. Nicolson [deputy Registrar], Geo. Carlisle [Bishop Fleming].

K. Sunday, Dec. 23, 1739. Letters of holy orders to the priesthood from George [Fleming], Bishop of Carlisle, on this

date holding a public ordination in the chapel at Rose Castle, to Thomas Ismay, deacon.

G. Feb. 11, 1739–40. Admittance of Thomas Ismay to the vicarage of Burgh upon Sands. Signed, Jos. Nicolson, Geo. Carlisle.

[These three endorsed with dates of exhibition up to June 25, 1770.]

K. Nov. 30, 1741. Jeremiah Moore of Kirkandrews, shoemaker, and Frances his wife sell to John Hodgson of Rocliff, yeoman, for £41 6s. 3d., one acre, Uppermer Breeches close, adjoining Widow Sibson on E., John Hodgson on W., and the occupation way on S. ; and one barn and a garth adjoining John Hodgson on N. and E. and the Kings Street on S. and W. paying rents etc. to Viscount Lonsdale. Witnesses : Thomas Stordy, Jn° Norman.

K. Jan. 30, 1745-6. John Norman of Kirkandrews, weaver, and his sisters Isabel and Elizabeth, spinsters, sell to William Burton the elder of Kirkandrews, yeoman, for £10, one dwelling or mansion-house and Byars containing in length about 15 yards and adjoining Jeremy Moore's house on S. and John Hodgson's house or byar on N. ; and one house or chamber and one little house, together about nine yards, adjoining John Hodgson on N. and J. Moore on S., as they stand now divided from the other part of the messuage there lately purchased by the sd. Jeremy Moore ; paying rents, etc. to Viscount Lonsdale. Signed, John Norman; Isabel Norman's mark ✠, Elizabeth Norman. Witnesses : John Norman's mark N, William Burton younger, William Stordy.

K. Aug. 9, 1748. Will of John Robson of Kirkandrews, Taylor. To his wife Elizabeth, his freehold at Kirkandrews, " but in case my brother Thomas Robson or his heirs do pay my debts and legacys and suffer my wife to hold... during her life... this bequest to be void. My wife to pay Thomas Robson or his heirs £1 5s. out of the profits of the premises during her life in lieu of interest for my debts. To my sister Mary's six children £10 apiece within twelve months after my wife's decease. If Thomas or his heirs refuse to pay my debts [etc.] I give my wife or her heirs power to sell my messuage [etc.] to satisfy my debts and legacys." Personal estate to his wife. Signed with his mark, a fret in a circle. Witnesses : John Hodgson, sworn ; John Paipe ; Jn° Norman, sworn.

Probate attached : administration given to Eliz. Robson. Signed, Robert Wardale, surrogate.

G. April 15, 1749. Letters of administration to Jane, wife of

Thomas Ismay, clerk, and daughter of Mary Wilson, late of Burgh upon Sands, widow, intestate. Signed, Thos. Jackson, Registrar; Robert Wardale, surrogate.

K. June 24, 1749. Release of a conditional devise, from Thomas Robson of Kirkandrews, yeoman. Whereas John Robson by his will Aug. 9, 1748, left his wife Elizabeth his freehold estate, but in case his brother Thomas paid his debts [etc. as above] and whereas Joseph Irwin of Longcauseway in Westward has agreed with Thomas Robson for the purchase of all the estate which Thomas has or may have, Now Thomas Robson, for 5s. in hand and £10 secured to be paid when Elizabeth shall die, has sold to Joseph Irwin all right, title [etc.] under the above recited will. Signed, Tho. Robson T. Witnesses: John Pearson, Thomas Erwing.

K. Feb. 2, 1749-50. John Beeby of Allonby, merchant, having received from John Hodgson of Kirkandrews, yeoman, £70 15s. by appointment of William Hodgson of Killyate in Beaumont, yeoman, in payment of a mortgage on the lands hereinafter mentioned; and William Hodgson having received £10 paid by John Hodgson to him in addition, John Hodgson buys a customary estate, with consent of Viscount Lonsdale, namely all that ffour days work or ffour customary acres of meadow ground at the West end of Carr-meadow in Beaumont; customary rent 3s. and usual services. Witnesses: John Pearson, George Blaylock. Endorsed; presented at a Court holden at Drumburgh... Fryday the 27 April 1750. W. Armytage, stewd.

K. March 5, 1752. Indenture, Thomas Robson of Kirkandrews, yeoman, sells to Joseph Irwin of Kirkandrews, weaver, for £10, his expectations under the will of John Robson. Signed, Thomas Robson his mark T. Witnesses: George Hethrington's mark H, Wm. Harbet, Jno. Norman.

G. May 15, 1752. Lease for one year from Thomas Sibson of Grinsdale, yeoman, to Samuel Hodgson of Kirkandrews, yeoman, for 5s. and one peppercorn on demand, of the tithes of a tenement in Grinsdale occupied by John Richardson. Witnesses: John Moore, John Pearson.

G. May 16, 1752. Release of tithes as above, consideration £56, subject to payment of 3s. 2d. yearly to the curate of Grinsdale.

G. April 30, 1753. Lease for one year from Thomas Sibson, to his brother John Sibson of Grinsdale, for 5s. and one peppercorn on demand, of a tenement at Grinsdale late in possession of Tho. Robson as lessee and now in possession of Robert Hodgson as

lessee at a quit rent of 14s. and of the tithes thereof. Witnesses: John Wilson, Wm. Stordy.

G. May 1, 1753. Release by the same to the same of the above tenement and tithes, purchased by Thomas Sibson with other property from Joseph Dacre of Kirklinton Hall, esquire, and Catherine his wife, Dec. 23 and 24, 1751; subject to a quit rent of 14s. to Joseph Dacre and 3s. 2½d. yearly to the curate of Grinsdale. Same witnesses.

K. Dec. 14, 1753. Joseph Irwing of Kirkandrews, weaver, and William Harbert of Carlisle, yeoman, sell to John Hodgson of Kirkandrews, yeoman, for 6s. a Spring Well at Kirkandrews called Neddy's Well and heretofore in dispute, together with the Water Stones and appurtenances. And also for £3 11s. 6d. Joseph Irving doth release John Hodgson and John Barnes of Kirkandrews, yeoman, from all actions etc. Prepared with seals but not executed.

K. Jan. 1, 1754. John Hodgson and John Barnes for 1s. apiece release Joseph Irwing from all actions. Signed: John Hodgson, John Barnes's mark X. No witnesses; endorsed—"Be it remembered that this release was tendered to Joseph Irwing in the presence of Thomas Robson."

K. Sept. 10, 1759. Admittance of Thomas Robson for a cottage called Gandy's and land adjoining at Kirkandrews; yearly customary rent 6d.; fine 5s. due to Sir James Lowther on the death of Henry, Viscount Lonsdale. Admittance 2s. 6d.; inrollment 1s. Signed, John Robinson, W. Armitage, stewards and commissioners.

G. Jan. 19, 1765. Letters of administration to Dorothy, wife of Robert Blamire junior, and only daughter of Samuel Hodgson late of Kirkandrews upon Eden, yeoman, intestate. Signed, John Nicolson, deputy Registrar; Hen: Richardson, surrogate.

G. May 15, 1765. Thomas Sibson of Grinsdale, yeoman, sells to John Hodgson the younger of Kirkandrews, yeoman, for £97, by license of Sir James Lowther, land called Wall rein, adjoining John Hodgson the elder on N. and S.; Broad Meadow, also adjoining John Hodgson on N. and S.; and Unkatres, adjoining John Hodgson on W. and Robert Robson on E., in the Townfields of Kirkandrews; customary rent 2s. 2d. Witnesses: John Wilson, John Pearson. "At the Court holden at Burgh, Friday, Oct. 11, 1765, this deed was presented to the Homage Jury [etc.] Jno. Wordsworth, steward of the said Barony."

K. Aug. 17, 1767. Edmund Hodgson of Rockcliffe, yeoman

and Ann his wife quitclaim to John Hodgson the elder of Kirkandrews, yeoman, and Margaret his wife, for £180 the freehold, messuage etc. in the Townfields of Kirkandrews in tenure of John and Margaret, heretofore in possession of the late John Robson of Kirkandrews, father of Margaret and Ann. Witnesses: Joseph irwing, Jn° Norman.

K. Jan. 26, 1770. Will of John Hodgson of Kirkandrews, the elder, yeoman. To my eldest son John Hodgson my writing desk. To my younger son Edmund Hodgson my freehold messuage etc. held in fee simple at Astonby, Kirklinton, until he is twenty-four, towards his maintenance and education at a Grammar School and Colledge, and after he is twenty-four to my eldest son and his heirs, subject to £200 to be given to Edmund. My wife Margaret to let the premises aforesaid for Edmund until he is twenty-four and to receive rent for him. To my eldest daughter Mary, wife of John Graham, £100. Remainder to my wife and younger daughter Margaret, equally divided. My wife and Margaret to be executrixes. My wife and son John or survivor to be trustees. Signed with his mark, a fret in a circle. Witnesses: Joseph Irwing, Elizabeth Robson, Geo. Bowness.

Probate to Margaret, widow, and Margaret Hodgson, spinster, April 4, 1770; signed John Nicolson, deputy Registrar; Richard Dickinson [surrogate].

K. Dec. 21, 1774. Lease for one year from Joseph Irwin of Kirkandrews, yeoman, to Jannet and Jane Edger of Mill Flatt in the parish of Gratenay (Gretna), co. Annadale, N.B., spinsters, for 5s. and a peppercorn if demanded, of two closes of arable meadow in the Townfields of Kirkandrews, namely Bottom Butts, otherwise Sandy Hill Butts, two acres, adjoining Thomas Price to S. or E. and an occupation way to W.; and Intacks, two acres, adjoining Robert and Elizabeth Hodgson on W. and Margaret Hodgson on E. Signed, Joseph Ierwing. Witnesses: John Mitchinson, Wm. Hodgson of Scotby.

K. Dec. 22, 1774. Release by way of mortgage of the same, for £100; provided that if Joseph Irwin pays £112 (£4 on Dec. 22, 1775, £4 on Dec. 22, 1776, and £104 on Dec. 22, 1777) he shall recover the property. Same witnesses.

K. Jan. 1, 1775. William Burton in Kirkandrews, yeoman, and Cathrine his wife, and Isacc Nelson of Grinsdale and Agnis his wife sell to John Hodgson, for £57, houses in Kirkandrews, namely a dwellinghouse with orchard adjoining Jane Lewthwait on S. and John Hodgson on N.; also land in the Townfields, Little Brickinhill, nine acres, adjoining the Common on S. and

Jane Lewthwait on N., John Norman on E. and John Hodgson on W.; paying to Sir James Lowther a free rent of 4s. 6d. Witnesses: William Price, Jane Lewthwaite.

K. On the back of the deed of Aug. 17, 1767, is another, dating 1777, not in professional hand, but in complete form; by which Agnes Nelson, widow of Isaac Nelson of Little Orton sells to John Hodgson of Kirkandrews, yeoman, for £26, two acres at Little Breckonhill in the Townfields of Kirkandrews, adjoining Robert Blamire on S. and John Hodgson on N., the common on W. and Allen Robson on E.; paying to Sir James Lowther the annual rent of 5s. Signed, Agnis Nelson mark × and seal. Witnesses: Dorothy Nelson, William Mathers.

K. May 11, 1780. William Heskett of Plumpton, yeoman, being indebted to several creditors for £700 in all, assigns to John Hodgson his estate real and personal in trust for the creditors, by consent of Sir James Lowther, lord of the manor of Plumpton, to whom he pays 13s. 4d. rent. John Hodgson to dispose of the property by sale, to pay the creditors and to return any balance to William Heskett. Witnesses: Anthony Soulby, William Robinson, Edwd. Grave.

K. Oct. 21, 1780. Bond of John Ritson of Monkhill, Beamond, yeoman, and John Hind [who signs "Hine"] of Kirkandrews, yeoman, in £30, to idemnify Joseph Irwin, the purchaser of two closes (five acres) called the Haynings and four butts (half an acre) called Sandy Hills, and one rood of freehold ground called Butt of Broad End, in the Townfields of Kirkandrews, and a prescription of 3d. yearly out of John Norman's land, against any claim of Ann, wife of John Ritson, who will be intitled to her jointure thirds out of the said property. Witnesses: John Mitchinson, Jacob Stordy.

K. Jan. 31, 1781. Thomas Price of Biglands, Aikton, yeoman, and Edward Price of Great Orton, weaver, sell to Joseph Irwing for £14 freehold land at Kirkandrews Holme called Sandy Hills, half an acre, adjoining Joseph Irwing on two sides; and they make John Norman of Kirkandrews, weaver, and Robert Robinson of Lonning, yeoman, their attornies to give seisin. Signed, Thomas Price his mark +, Edward Price ‖ his mark. Witnesses to seisin, John Norman, William burton: to receipt, John Norman, Jacob Cowen.

K. April 16, 1792. Admittance of John Hodgson, only son and heir of Margaret Hodgson, widow, to land in Kirkandrews, customary rent 2s. 1d., fine £7. Signed, Geo: Wheatley [esq., steward], "allowed by me—Lonsdale."

K. Dec. 29, 1792. Jane Willis of Carlisle, widow, sells to Musgrave Lewthwaite of Carlisle, merchant, for £16, a freehold house with byer and ground used for a Dunghill at the end of such Byer, and ground on the opposite side of the road used for setting and stacking Turves and Peats, at Kirkandrews. Witnesses: John Norman, Christopher Elliott.

K. July 31, 1793. Will of Joseph Erwing. To my wife Tamer Erwing all my freehold estate at Kirkandrews during her life, and afterwards to my nephew Edward Norman, chargeable with debts and the following legacies:—to Tamer Erwing all my goods and chattels and £200: to my nephew William Norman £10; to his children Margaret and Mary £5 each; to Peggy, wife of Joseph Cartener £5; to Edward Cartener £5; to William Jonston £5; to John Jonston £3; to Peggy, Biddy, Mary and Nanny Jonston £3 each; to my sister Mary Liddl £20; to my sister Mary children, William, John and Mary £5 each; to my brother Jonnathan Erwing £35; to my nephew Jonnathan Erwing £100:—all to be paid within twelve months after the decease of my wife Tamer, who is to be sole executor. Provided my nephew Jonnathan Erwing will pay my nephew Edward Norman £100, he shall have my freehold estate so long as it shall remain in the name of Erwings, and after that to go to my brother John Erwing famley. Provided my nephews Edward Norman or Jonathan Erwin refuses to pay those Leages left out of my estate then the Legates or any one of the[m] to enter on my estate and pay them and all costs attending it. Witnesses: John Hodgson, John Graham, Mary Graham.

Effects under £100 proved by Thamar Erwing, Aug. 8, 1793. True copy, G. G. Mounsey, Depy. regr.

K. Feb. 5, 1796 (Copy or draught not executed). Musgrave Lewthwaite in Carlisle and Ann Price of Cattcoats sell (for £15 ?) to John Hodgson of Kirkandrews a freehold house, etc. of twenty yards in length and six in breadth adjoining King Street on W. and John Hodgson on E. and N.

K. Jan. 31, 1798. Jonathan Dickinson of Allonby, yeoman, and Mary his wife, only child of the late Thomas Stordy of Moorhouse, Burgh by Sands, yeoman, sell to Richard Robson of Thurstonfield, Burgh, shoemaker, for £25, freehold meadow Beck Close, late property of Thomas Stordy in Townfields of Moorhouse, three roods and ten perches, adjoining the road from Moorhouse to Burgh on E. and ground of Joseph Liddell; quitrent 6d. to the Lord of the Fee. The Dickinsons agree with Joseph Liddell of Moorhouse, Esq. that they will at the cost of Robson

levy before H.M. Judges of the Court of Common Pleas at Westminster one or more Fine or Fines sur cognizance de droit come ceo etc. unto the said J. Liddell etc. not only of the aforesaid close but also of several other messuages, etc. Witnesses: Thomas Forster, John Wright.

G. March 16, 1798. List of fields in Grinsdale Holme enclosed under an award. Far Holme:—Doudle, 5a. 2r. 2p., owned by Thomas Sibson; Broadlands, 3a. 2r. 11p., Thomas Robson; Broadlands, 3a. 2r., the late John Hodgson, now the Rev. R. Burn*; Far Holme, 1a. 3r. 14p., William Nixon; Part of Peaslands, 1r. 1p., John Sibson, now John Graham; Broadlands 6a. 2r. 21p., Margaret Blamire, now Sibson Graham. Near Holme:—Cherim † and Carr Head, including all Mr. Studholme's holme, 9a. 2r. 13p., Sarah Moore, now John Studholme; Ashbush, 3a. 2r. 13p., Margaret Blamire, now Thomas Robson; Ashbush, 5a. 2r. 25p., Thomas Sibson; Hodgson Acre, 4a. 2p., J. Blaylock, now Edward Nixon; Under Kirk, 2a. 2r. 37p., J. Hodgson, now Rev. R. Burn; Coop House Field, 3a. 2r. 7p., Thomas Robson; Coop House Field, 3a. 1r. 24p., Wm. Dacre Esq.; Under Kirk, 8a. 3r. 33p., Thomas Sibson; Under Kirk, 1a. 27p., Wm. Nixon; Haver Riggs, 8a. 31p., Margaret Blamire, now Thomas Robson.

K. Oct. 18, 1800. Jonathan Irwin of Newcastle upon Tyne, merchant, assigns to John Hodgson of Kirkandrews, yeoman, for £200 all his interest under the will of Joseph Erwing. Witnesses: Robert Purvis, James Lang. Receipts for £10 paid Oct. 18, 1800, and £40 paid June 23, 1801. The remaining £150 was to be paid at the death of Tamor Erwing, widow of Joseph [see Dec. 28, 1814].

G. July 5, 1806. Letters of administration to Ruth Graham, only daughter of John Sibson, late of Grinsdale, yeoman, intestate. Signed, Robert Mounsey.

K. March 11, 1808. Receipt for £74 5s. 3d. paid by John Hodgson of Kirkandrews to the Bank of England to the credit of ex parte the purchasers of the settled estates of the Rt. Hon. James, late Earl of Lonsdale. Signed, Nicholas Smith, accountant general; T. Triquet, cashier; M. Sibly.

K. Feb. 28, 1810. Draft of will of John Hodgson in Kirkandrews. To my nephew John Graham all my estate at Kirkandrews and Beaumond, tithes in Brough by Sands and fishing in the Eden, but chargeable with legacies to my sister Mary £20

* R. Burn, senior, rector of Kirkandrews.

† In a later deed spelt "Chirm."

yearly during life; to my nephew Arthur Graham £300; to nephew William Graham £300; to my Nece Mary, the wife of John Hesket £300; to my Sis Peggs, the wife of William Hesket £20 yearly during life; to my nephew John Hesket all my estate at Alstonby but chargeable with the £20 yearly to my sistr peggs; to my Nece Mary the wife of Thomas Hall £300; to Isabellow Heskett £300; to Peggy Hesket £300; to my nephew William Heskett £300; remainder to John Graham and John Hesket.

K. Feb. 26, 1814. Probate of will of John Hodgson of Kirkandrews, yeoman. To John Grahame, tenement at Kirkandrews and Beaumont chargeable with £20 yearly to his sister Mary for life; his nephew William Graham to occupy the same for fifteen years paying John Graham £30 yearly: to John Graham the fishery; to William Graham, share of tithes called Noublesworth; to his nephew John Hesket, tenement in Kirklinton called Little Astonby, chargeable with £20 yearly to his sister Peggy: to William Graham his desk.

G. April 23, 1814. Account of the personal estate etc. of John Hodgson, late of Kirkandrews upon Eden, gentleman, who died Feb. 20th, 1813, exhibited by John Graham of Grinsdale, yeoman, and John Heskett of Low Wool Oaks, Heskett, yeoman, executors under the will proved at Carlisle, Feb. 26, 1814, and sons of two sisters of the deceased.

	£	s.	d.
Cash at the Bankers with interest to date	624	0	0
Cash from sale of household goods ..	1	0	0
Cash from sale of wearing apparel.. ..	5	0	0
[The deceased died a bachelor and never kept House himself, having boarded and lodged with a relation.]			
Rents due at death of the deceased ..	78	8	0
Interest from mortgage outstanding from William Heskett of Plumpton Foot ..	546	17	10
Cash for Principal on Bonds etc.	300	0	0
Cash for interest to the time of payment	12	7	0
	1567	12	10
Funeral expences £30, debts, etc... ..	142	19	3
Leaving balance of cash ..	£1424	13	7

K. June 9, 1814. Will of Robert Robson of Kirkandrews. To my niece Mary, wife of John Tinnian, all my Houses and Lands at Kirkandrews and real estate at Burgh by Sands late Greenhows;

to Jane Blamire £100; to Robt. Blamire £20, and to Betty Blamire £20, children of Wm. Blamire of Hawksdale; and Jane Blamire to hold my house and garden at Kirkandrews for nine years without payment.

Effects under £100, proved May 13, 1815, by Mary Tinnian, sole executrix. Signed, G. G. Mounsey, depy. regr.

K. Dec. 28, 1814. Case and opinion of Mr. Richard Preston upon Joseph Irwing's will. Mr. Preston's opinion (abstracted) was that—(1) Edward Norman had a title to the Fee, but the Heir of the Testator had a fair opening to dispute it; (2) Jonathan Irwing contracted to sell his interest only; the £150 [see Oct. 18, 1800] might be recovered by his representatives from the estate of John Hodgson; (3) Tamer Irwing [who was still alive] had a right to make a will and give the £200 away.

G. Easter, 1817. Final agreement, Westminster, before Vicary Gibbs, Robert Dallas, James Allan Park, and Charles Abbott, Justices, between John Studholme, petitioner, and John Tinnion and Mary his wife, deforciants, of one messuage, two barns, two stables, two cowhouses, twenty acres of land, ten acres of meadow and ten acres of pasture with the appurtenances in Kirkandrews. The deforciants warrant these tenements to John Studholme, and for this acknowledgement he had paid them £60.

APPENDIX.

An account of the Sibson family of Grinsdale, from the year 1560, extracted from ancient records and family memorandums (by Mr. George Sibson of Grinsdale).

1560, 21st Nov.—Award made at Carleol in favour of George Sibson of Grynsdale, being the settlement of a suit-at-law respecting the division of those lands whereof one moiety had been possessed by the Sibson family time out of mind, between William Willson of Beaumont, plaintiff, and George Sibson of Grynsdale, defendant; whereby it is awarded that a certain tenement in Grynsdale, then in dispute, should be enjoyed by the said George Sibson, his heirs and assigns for ever, and that the parties should thenceforth live on friendly terms as good neighbours and Christian people ought to do.

1607, 7th March.—Conveyance from Agnis Sibson, daughter and heiress-at-law of William Sibson to George Sibson of Grinsdale, yeoman, of a tenement in Grinsdale; executed in the presence of David Sibson and Robert Sibson, brother of David, and others.

1609, 4th Oct.—Conveyance from Agnes Sibson to George Sibson of a tenement in Grinsdale, consideration £60; executed in the presence of Richard Sibson of Carliell, webster and others.

1616, 20th Nov.—Mortgage by demise whereby Matthew Sibson of Grinsdale, yeoman, mortgages to George Sibson of Grinsdale, alias Newlands, yeoman, one half of his land at Grinsdale for £35, with the consent of the Honble. Francis Dacre of Saint Bees, gentleman, Lord of the Manor. Possession given in the presence of David Sibson, Robert Sibson, Richard Sybson, and William Sibson.

1616, 7th Dec.—Lease between the said George Sibson and the said Matthew Sibson whereby the said George Sibson lets the said half tenement for five years to the said Matthew Sibson; executed in the presence of Christopher Sibson and others.

1619, 12th June.—Conveyance from George Bell to George Sibson of a customary tenement in Grinsdale held of John Briskoe Esq. as part of the manor of Orton. Executed in the presence of David Sibson, Rowland Sibson, Thomas Sibson, clerk, and others.

1626, 5th April.—Conveyance by feoffment from Matthew Sibson to George Sibson the elder of his tenement in Grinsdale, wherein he and his ancestors had stood seized since before the memory of man.

1628.—Henry Sibson, D.D., lets John Sibson and George Sibson his house and tenement at Grinsdale for a term of years, reserving a chamber with chimney and stable.

1638.—Agreement whereby Richard Sibson the elder and Richard Sibson the younger become security for a sum of money.

1639, 10th Jan.—Deed of bargain and sale whereby Isaac Denton Esq. sells the Rectory of Grinsdale to the Rev. Henry Sibson, D.D., executed in the presence of Stephen Sibson, Thomas Sibson and others.

1657.—Admittance of George Sibson as son and heir of Richard Sibson to a customary tenement at Grinsdale, subject to the life estate of Bridget Sibson, his mother, being held under William Briscoe Esq. as parcel of the manor of Orton.

1694, 10th Aug.—Admittance to the said customary tenement of Thomas Sibson, son and heir of the said George Sibson, who was born 16th September, 1664, and married, 22nd July, 1690, Isabell Robson, daughter of John Robson of Kirkandrews, commonly called Stephen John.

1700, 9th Nov.—Deed of enfranchisement from John Briscoe Esq., to the said Thomas Sibson, executed in the presence of Joseph Sibson and others.

1726, 12th April.—The said Thomas Sibson died on this day, leaving his wife Isabell, who survived until 4th April, 1754. They had issue :—(1) George, the eldest son, who died 18th Aug., 1713, aged 23 years. (2) John, who succeeded to the estate, born 1693. (3) Thomas, who resided in Carlisle, tanner, and died without issue leaving his wife him surviving. He was the owner of the tanyards and property below Carlisle Castle. His will bears date 25th Nov., 1732, and was proved on 5th Dec., 1732. (4) Jacob, who also resided in Carlisle, shoemaker ; died without issue, leaving by his will dated 30th April, 1737, the whole of his property to his nephew Thomas Sibson, son of Joseph ; but he dying before the will was proved, administration was granted 28th March, 1768, to Robert Sibson. (5) Joseph, who also resided in Carlisle, saddler, died leaving four sons :—Thomas, a mariner, Robert, George and Joseph. (6) Jeremiah, another brother, received legacies under the wills of his brothers Jacob and Thomas.

1726.—John, the second son (as above) succeeded to the property, having previously married Ruth, daughter of the Rev. Thomas Story of Kirkbampton ; died 9th Sept., 1739, and had issue :—(1) Ruth, married Mr. John Wilson, Burgh. (2) Thomas, born 14th April, 1722 ; died 4th Dec., 1809. (3) John, born 22nd July, 1727 ; married Jane, daughter of the Rev. Thomas Ismay of Burgh. Ruth, his only child, married — Graham of Kirkandrews.

1734.—Thomas, the eldest son (as above), succeeded to the property ; married 2nd Nov., 1776, Jane Hodgson ; and died 4th Dec., 1809. Issue :—(1) George, died young. (2) Thomas. (3) Mary. (4) Ruth, married Ed. Robson, Grinsdale. (5) John, an officer of Customs at Whitehaven.

1809.—Thomas, eldest surviving son and heir-at-law of Thomas (as above) ; married Mary, daughter of Thomas Robinson of Cargo, and had issue :—(1) Jane, died young. (2) Thomas, a bachelor. (3) John, grandfather of Mr. Thomas Sibson, solicitor, of Carlisle. (4) George, father of Mr. George Sibson now of Grinsdale. (3) Margaret, married John Gibbons of Liverpool. (6) William. (7) Robinson, died young. (8) James. (9) Mary. 10) Joseph, a bachelor. (11) Martha.

ART. XXIV.—*De Cundal, Bampton Cundal and Butterwick.* By the Rev. FREDERICK W. RAGG, M.A., F.R. Hist. Soc.

Communicated at Penrith, July 7th, 1921.

BAMPTON with its moors, its loveliest of lakes, Haweswater, its ancient forest precincts, its streams and its valley, was an evidently coveted possession. For scions of such families as Musgrave, Machel, Lengleys, Sandford, Salkeld and Lowther, and Preston, as well as the once flourishing Abbey of Shap, were ready to have shares in some of its advantages. But there were owners of whom we have traces before these. At an earlier time and before the date when the Premonstratensian Abbey was transplanted to Shap from Preston Patrick it had been held by three families of owners, the family of Gospatrik son of Orm (de Culwen), the family of Tailbois whose origin has been so much in question and the family of de Cundal, the very name of which shows them to have come thither from the wapentake of Hallikeld in Yorkshire. This transplantation, however, was not altogether singular, nor was it a solitary case of movement from Yorkshire in the direction of the north-west. Gospatrik's origin shows the same thing, and the names of other Westmorland owners too. Names occur among them which are found in the Yorkshire Domesday Book, but not showing so distinctly as de Cundal the actual locality from whence they came.

When we seek to know what caused this flow northwestwards of settlers in new ground we have to realize, in order to get the right answer, that they were not settlers from a country over-sea, either taking possession of empty country-sides or driving aboriginal settlers out.

There were great owners of all the districts, even of the far-reaching wastes and forests and, without their consent, entrance would be intrusion and the result disastrous to the intruder. Moreover, the more we investigate, the more we find that even in those portions of Northumbria—of Bernicia and Deira, too—wasted by William I., and by others after him, there was, at the background of men's thoughts and feelings, a stubborn law of possession and of right which it was not easy to break through, though broken through it was at times. It remained even through changes of dynasty, usurpation and the complex arrangements of possession and position of direct owner, mesne lord, overlord and supreme lord, which interfered with territorial possession, even in the boundaries of kingdoms. And the long feuds existing between the English and the Scottish sovereigns had their effects in the north of England, and as fully in the tenures of the owners of freeholds as in those of the owners of manors and of baronies.

About the Culwen owners, Gospatrik's progeny, I have already written. About the Tailbois owners the time will come when I get to Cliburn history; to the Cundal family I now turn.

Their first appearance is somewhere about the middle of the 12th century, rather before that, perhaps, than after it. And the family appears here and in Cumberland also, not very far from Corby, only a little later (Prescott, *Reg. of Wetherhal*), where Henry de Cundal is witness to the charter of the Chapel, between 1161 and 1165. Henry must have been son of Ralf, the second owner of Bampton Cundal and grandson of the first William, who gave to Huctred, son of Ravenkil (these *Trans.* N.S. xix) land in Gnype. Henry came into ownership of Bampton after 1176, and the names thenceforth of the Cumberland and Bampton possessors coincide.

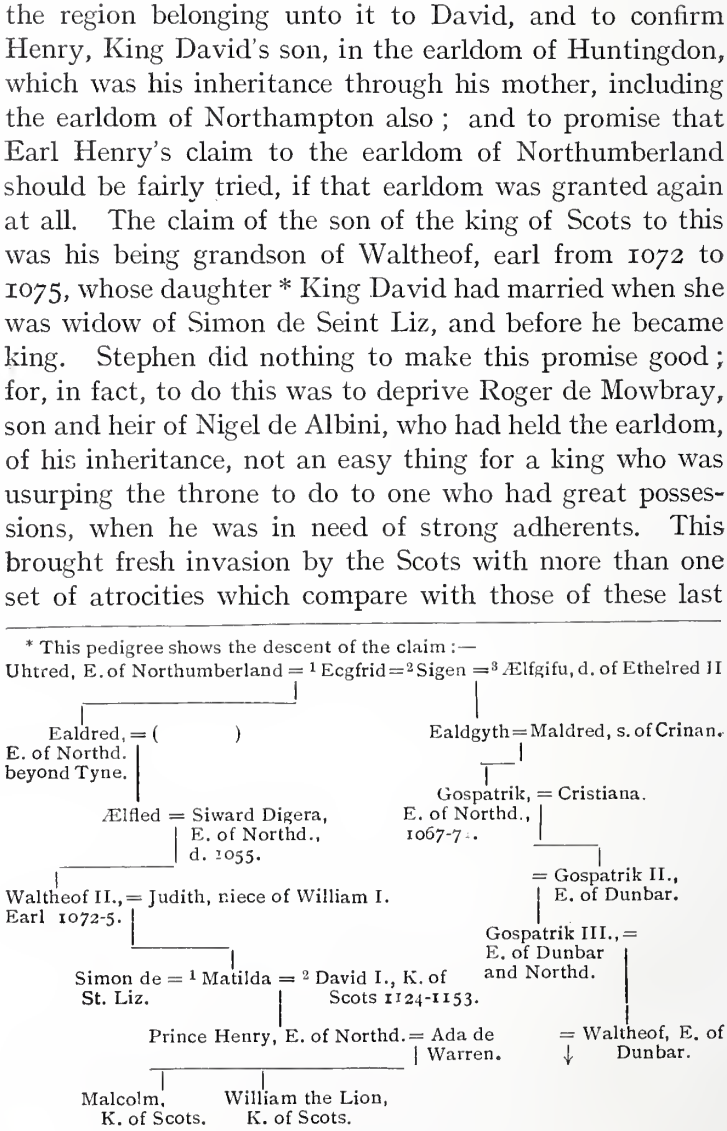
To grasp the history properly, it is well to begin with the

entry in *Domesday* which gives Cundal. It is there described as a manor with two berewicks—detached portions of a manor which apparently had some sort of independent rights for its inhabitants but were dependent on the lord in other respects It had also six hamlets which belonged to it, making its manorial court a sort of tiny barony. Much of it was waste at the time of *Domesday*. It had belonged to a Waltheof (Wallev) who owned other manors also, and its immediate owner under Robert, earl of Moretain, half brother of William I., was Alvred (Alfred), most probably the English freeholder, kept on in his desolated heritage. Waltheof's name reminds one of the earls of Northumberland of Gospatrick's line and possibly he was some relative of theirs. William, earl of Moretain, son of Robert, rebelled against Henry I. and Henry granted the Moretain estates to his nephew Stephen of Blois and added afterwards the Honour of Lancaster, a consolidation of various fiefs of forfeited owners—Roger the Poictevin and others. The Moretain estates contained many manors in Yorkshire, including Cundal. When Stephen seized the crown, Roger de Mowbray, son and heir of Nigel de Albini, to whom Henry I. had granted the earldom of Northumberland, was under age and was accordingly in ward to Stephen by the feudal custom of military tenure, and could not succeed till he was old enough. It would seem that some possessions in Yorkshire had been among those of Nigel de Albini, but none are shown in *Domesday* as belonging to the Mowbray fiefs, and, moreover, the parish in which Byland Abbey and Newburgh Priory are situated, which belonged to Alan of Brittany, seems to have been in the hands of Roger, or he could not have given the sites.

One of Stephen's earliest difficulties in England, after he seized the crown, was the invasion of Northumberland and capture of four towns there, and of Carlisle, by David, king of Scots, partly in the interest of the daughter of

Henry I. called the Empress and partly in his own. This was in 1136. The end was a conference between the two kings. Stephen had to consent to give up Carlisle and the region belonging unto it to David, and to confirm Henry, King David's son, in the earldom of Huntingdon, which was his inheritance through his mother, including the earldom of Northampton also; and to promise that Earl Henry's claim to the earldom of Northumberland should be fairly tried, if that earldom was granted again at all. The claim of the son of the king of Scots to this was his being grandson of Waltheof, earl from 1072 to 1075, whose daughter * King David had married when she was widow of Simon de Seint Liz, and before he became king. Stephen did nothing to make this promise good; for, in fact, to do this was to deprive Roger de Mowbray, son and heir of Nigel de Albini, who had held the earldom, of his inheritance, not an easy thing for a king who was usurping the throne to do to one who had great possessions, when he was in need of strong adherents. This brought fresh invasion by the Scots with more than one set of atrocities which compare with those of these last

* This pedigree shows the descent of the claim:—



years that apparently many seem already to forget to regard with horror. The fine resistance to the invaders followed, inspired by the Archbishop of York, aged and infirm but loyal to his country, and in the Battle of the Standard, Roger de Mowbray leading his feoffees was one of the chief figures. Some others of the nobles too, a Bruce and a Balliol among them, acted nobly for their country's sake against their apparent interests. A legate from Rome on his way to Ireland came to the combatants while the war was still on and negotiated a truce, and his work was followed up by that of Stephen's wife, Queen Maud, who was niece of David, king of Scots. The result was a peace. The earldom of Northumberland was given to Henry, David's son, except two towns, in lieu of which two other towns further south were to be given. The barons in the earldom were to do homage to Henry, if they chose, reserving Stephen's supreme right; and David of Scots and Henry were to remain faithful to Stephen as their liege lord in these possessions. David gave five hostages of fidelity—a son of Gospatrik the earl, a son of Hugh de Morville (founder of Dryburgh), a son of Earl Fergus (lord of Galloway), a son of Mal[dred?] and a son of Mac[...].*

Roger de Mowbray, not of age even at the battle of the Standard, was thus cut entirely out of the Northumbrian earldom, which, while Henry the Scottish heir lived, went to him, and after his death was held by Gospatrik III. for some time, till his death in 1155; then apparently to his son Waltheof for a time. But the strength of Henry II. seems to have been able to wrest it out of Scottish hands and include it entirely in England, but not till after the war of 1173.

What had been done to compensate Roger de Mowbray we only learn incidentally from various *Inqq. p. mortem* of his descendants and from the grants he made and the

* The names lost.

religious houses he founded and endowed. One of these was the Priory of Newburgh, founded about 1145, to which he gave the advowson of Cundal and lands and tithe in Cundal. His possession was thus, in Yorkshire, parts of the Moretain estates there and of the Brittany estate, and his having also the Honour of Lancaster enabled him to grant to William de Lancaster the barony of Kendal and other lands.

The appearance of William de Cundal in Bampton is so close to the date in which Newburgh was founded, of which Cundal was part of the endowment, that it looks as if the transfer of William de Cundal was connected with it, and William de Cundal's grant—the earliest of any of which the charter remains, to Huctred, son of Ravenkil, was made to the son of a well-known knight belonging to the Honour of Lancaster (Farrer's *Lancashire Pipe Rolls and Early Charters*) and therefore a fellow feoffee of Roger de Mowbray's at the time.

Unexpected light comes from the Newbiggin deeds belonging to Mr. Dayrell Crackanthorpe which helps the history. There is a list amongst these deeds made in the time of James I., and, though not faultless in description, valuable enough, since some of the deeds described are no longer in existence. One of these is a "grant from Robert de Mowbray comes Westmorland to Robert de Appleby." This grantee could only be Robert, seneschal of Appleby, father of Lawrence de Newbiggin, or his father, also named Robert, who is the only one of the name that fits; and Robert de Mowbray, earl of Northumberland, could not be the grantor. He had been deprived and imprisoned for not a few years and he died in imprisonment in about 1105. Roger de Mowbray it *could* be, and I suspect that the charter was probably in the contracted name Ro. de Molbray, as not a few early charters are, and that the writer of the descriptions guessed at the name. But this lets a flashlight on that

dark bit of history and helps us to make out a reasoned sequence which explains much. It is reasonable to conclude that Stephen, to compensate Roger de Mowbray, gave him the earldom of Westmorland as well as the Honour of Lancaster and possessions in Yorkshire made up partly by portions of the Moretain fee, and partly by smaller portions of the Brittany fee; and as earl of Westmorland he could of course be the grantor to William de Cundal of the portion of Bampton.

It was not to be expected that a strong adherent of Stephen would be much in favour with Henry II., and even he had to make some sort of compromise with the family of Stephen. So we find the Honour of Lancaster in the hands of William, count of Boulogne and earl of Warren, till 1160 (Farrer's *Pipe Rolls*), and after his death resumed by the crown. Also, in the Yorkshire Pipe Roll of 4 Henry II. (1161) is an entry of £10 10s. in lands given to Hugh de Morvill, apparently Burc and Chanardesborough; and as Westmorland was frequently accounted for under Yorkshire in the Pipe Rolls this looks like the grant of Brough and Knaresborough. Hence Roger de Mowbray was deprived of Westmorland as well as the Honour of Lancaster and this may help to explain a good deal of what followed. For we know that the deprivation of Carlisle and of the Tailbois lands was one of the causes of the opposition of the earl of Chester in the reign of the same king, though the deprivation happened long before.

In 1173, after the slaughter of Beckett, there was the war between Henry II. and his sons, backed up as they were by the kings of France and Scotland, in which came the invasion of Northumberland by William the Lion, and then his attack on Carlisle and the capture of Appleby and Brough. He was accompanied, so Fantosme tells us, by Roger de Mowbray his friend. Roger no doubt thought of the earldom and the Honour of which he had

tenanted by the abbey under William de Cundal. The abbot quitclaimed them to William for himself and his successors in the abbey, and gave up all right which the abbey had in a debt of 35 "skyps" of oatmeal and 21 "skyps" of malt in which William de Cundal was held bound by the undertaking of Ralf de Cundal his father, "whose heir he was." This I interpret as a yearly due, and the transaction as meaning that William de Cundal exchanged with the abbey his right in the advowson of Bampton for the eight acres of land and the cessation of having to provide the 35 skeps of oatmeal and 21 skeps of malt yearly.

In the year before this (40 Hen. III., 1255-6) William de Cundale and Jordan Cleypol and Cecilia his wife, daughter of Gilbert de Dundragh, had a Final Concord about a messuage, 48 acres of land and 3s. 7d. rent in Dundragh, Distington and Crofton, her inheritance as one-fourth of that manor. She was one of the four coheiresses of Gilbert, son of Gilbert de Dundragh, younger son of Odard de Logis, lord of Wigton. This, her purparty, she sold to William de Cundal. But as he had put in claims against the sale of 120 acres of land by one of the other sisters and coheiresses, Isolda de Tynemuth, to Alan de Multon, and against the sale of another fourth part of the manor of Distington and the advowson, to Thomas, son of Lambert de Multon, by Matilda de Melton, another of the coheiresses, it looks as if he had some sort of right in the manor or in portions of it by marriage or inheritance besides the sale to him by Jordan de Cleypol and Cecilia of theirs. If so, this was probably through some unrecorded connection through Henry, his grandfather, the witness of the Corkeby chapel deed. The fourth coheiress of Gilbert de Dundragh had children, and her purparty of the inheritance went down, without question it would seem, to their descendants, de Croftons.

In 1265 William de Cundal* had granted to him by the king (*Patent Roll*), amongst other men of Roger de Clifford, protection till the following Whitsunday. He must have died in or before 1277, for in that year Ralf de Cundal is required (A.R. 130) to answer Robert de Quennow as to service due to William de Wigton, the overlord of Dundragh. This was because de Quennow held under Ralf de Cundal a portion of the Distington lands and he considered that Ralf should do the service and not let it fall on him. In the same year Simon de Burdal at the Westmorland Assize claimed of Ralf common of pasture which he said belonged to his holding in Barton. The Assize Roll (981) calls him Ralf, son of William de Candall. Assize Roll 980, recording the same case but without giving the verdict, styles him Robert son of William de Cundal, not by any means solitary instances in these Rolls of mistakes, especially in Christian names beginning with the same letter. The verdict went against Simon de Burdal, who, it was decided, had no rights of common in Bampton. In 1277-8 John Bate (*i.e.* Baty) applied for an assize against Ralf about an acre in Over Knype, but did not prosecute his claim. In the same year Ralf de Cundal was jurator in Carlisle (A.R. 130).

About 1285, Ralf son of Thomas de Cundale granted to Hugh de Lowther and Inetta two messuages and 13 acres of land in Bampton Cundal which he recovered, his charter says, in assize from Ralf, son of William de Cundal. The witnesses to this deed were John de Rossegille and Robert le Engleis, knights, Robert de Morvile, Richard de Musgrave, Gilbert de Witeby, John de Quale (Whale), Henry de Witeby, Adam Scegg de Louther "and others." Ralf son of Thomas de Cundal held this land under Ralf son of William, the lord of Bampton Cundal, and hence a confirmation of the grant was necessary. This was given by the charter of Ralf de Cundal (son of William) in 1286.

* It is 'de Crundel' in the Roll, by an evident mistake.

One peppercorn was to be given yearly by Hugh de Lowther to Ralf (Appendix Ia, Ib).

Following this, between 1286 and 1289, Elena, widow of Ralf son of Thomas de Cundal, quitclaimed to Hugh de Louther "son of Geoffrey" in a deed witnessed by Michael de Harcla, Richard de Mussegrave, Robert de Morvill, John de Helton and Adam de Mussegrave, her dower's portion of land in Bampton (one-third of two messuages and of two bovates)—it is given as in Bampton Patrick—for which Hugh gave her half a mark. She evidently had no son. Comparing this and the grant by Ralf son of Thomas to Hugh, it looks as though two bovates were equal to 13 acres in Bampton, which gives 6½ acres to one bovate.* In 1286 (A.R.1271) comes the claim by Alan son of Alan of Hognype, of which I gave particulars in Mediaeval Knipe (these *Trans.* N.S. xix), but the case was not decided till the next year.

No small proportion of the documents about Bampton Cundal during the Cundal ownership belongs to the time of Ralf. He granted to John, son of Martin de Butterwick, his land in the "place called Slakes," land which Hugh, son of Alan de Stayngarth, it says, had formerly held "at ferm" of William de Cundal his father, and le Kroc, which lay at the top of the garden of the said John and extended to the sheepcote of Adam de Musgrave along the wayside as far as "le Ladyhate"† of Henry Cote. For this John was to pay 1d. at Christmas, so that it was still to be held under Ralf. The witnesses were John de Rossegil, Robert de Morville, John de Quale, Henry de Quale, Robert de Butterwyk, Henry, son of

* This is practically confirmed by the charter of William de Helton to Hugh de Lowther quoted later on p. 301.

† This portion of Bampton came into Sandford ownership later. A curious document concerning it in Sandford times which I could not include in the Sandford history follows in Appendix VI. "Ladyhate" is there written "Ledzate," which looks like an unusual form of *lidyate*, a gate across a road to prevent cattle from straying. The word is found in place-names of Yorkshire and elsewhere.

Adam son of Cote, Richard Archer and others (Robert de Morville died in 1291 or 1292 ; this limits the date).

There is also a grant of about the same period releasing to John son of Martin de Butterwick the whole moiety of his land in Rukhole (Roughill), which had been held by Martin of his father William (de Cundale), and the whole of his land in Dryslakes, the land which Hugh son of Alan de Staingarth had formerly held at ferm, and le Kroc. John de Butterwick was to grind the grain growing thereon at de Cundale's mill in Bampton without paying for multure, but to do service for the mill. The fines for assault by word and by blow which he was to pay were still to be paid to Ralf. The charter, however, is faded at this portion and the amounts are not quite clear. The witnesses were John de Rossgill, kt., Adam de Musgrave, Robert, the abbot's man, Adam de Par, Alexander Dodding, Robert, son of Simon " and others." This also is a grant of freehold under Ralf.

Another deed grants to John, son of Martin de Butterwick, a messuage and lands and meadows which Benedict had held of Ralf in Bampton Cundal and one acre of land lying in " le Northcroft " between " le Grengate " and the water, and one rood of meadows lying in " le Syke next le Croft " and all his land with meadow and waste which Avice Textrix (Webster) had held of him, and one messuage and one rood of land in " le Langeflate " with meadows and all belongings which Sygrid, daughter of Beatrice, once held of him at ferm. This is to be free of all secular services and exactions and demands and held of the chief lords of the fee and is warranted. It is thus an absolute grant, separating it from Cundal ownership. The witnesses were Gilbert de Culwene and Robert de Engleis, knights, Adam de Par, Alexander Doding, Henry Cute, Robert de Butterwyck " and others " ; and I imagine that the deed must date from before the statute " Quia

emptores" of 1290, which blocked such concessions in general.

Again another charter of Ralf's grants to John son of Richard de Copeland [of Thrimby ?] a shieling in Bampton Cundal, which it says Ralf held by hereditary right—once held by Hueloc—in a close called le Calvegarth (Hullockhow probably is in it). This was tenancy, and the due 1d. on St. Martin's day. The witnesses were William de Strickland and John de Rossegil, knights, Robert de Morville, Richard de Musgrave, John de Quale, Henry de Quale, Hugh de Louthir "and others."

Then yet another to John son of William Prudhome (Appendix II.), interesting not only as a specimen of Ralf's charters, but because of the apparent concessions; for instance attendance at the Manor Court three times (yearly) only, and the possible resumption of land allowed by the the Statute of Merton to the owner of the manor, if the owner thought it necessary for improvements, being mentioned in one of the conditions of the grant. The word "hegningum" which appears in it is probably what in a rent roll of Robert de Cliburn of 1366 (which I hope to give in a later paper) is called Banton hefnyng. This grant to John Prudhome, mentioning Lytelwater, seems to have a sequel later on in the history of Bampton.

An agreement also exists between Ralf de Cundal and William, son of Adam Cote, by which Ralf grants in exchange 2½ acres of land in Hognipp, lying in different places, one at Whitfell, at the foot of Lundkelde, in the tenure of Richard Payn and Nicholas Bonning, half-an-acre of meadow held by the same Nicholas in Hullending, one rood lying above "le Milnland" which the same Nicholas held, and of domain above le Milnland half-a-rood, and above Thistelrig half-an-acre in the tenure of Nicholas Bonning and Henry de Gnipp, half-a-rood above "le Keld," which Nicholas Bonning held, and one rood in Schort Schelland held by the same: all these to be

held by William, son of Adam Cote, for two acres which William gave in exchange for them, lying in several portions above Granstanyon, at the head of Schellandes, at "le Hengebuttes" near by the land there which was once held by Robert de Morville above Schort Schelland; Pocland above "le Brokes," below "le Schenis," and waste of Gayteborhanes, and also "his part of Borhanes." To this John de Quale, Adam de Musgrave, Ralf Archer, Hugh, son of Martin, Henry Cote "and others" were witnesses.

A fragment of another grant by Ralf releases to Henry Cote and his heirs a tenement of which the name is lost, which was once held by Cristiana, who was wife of Henry son of Henry de Bampton, to be held apparently by them of the chief lords.

Then comes, on Saturday, 16 July, 1295, an agreement between Ralf de Cundal and Patrick de Culwen, son of Gilbert, by which Ralf demises to Patrick, his heirs or assigns, 38 acres of ploughlands and 2 acres of meadow of his demesnes in Bampton Cundal for 40 years (Appendix III). The names of the parts of Bampton given are Frythemor, Borghamor, Heythflatt, Stonelbrad, Coulandes, Castlegate, Hardegate, Langwra, Sakwath and Langflat. This agreement was made because Patrick had supplied him with money in his need; but it had to be added to, for on St. Martin's day in the same year Ralf leased to Patrick at ferm for 40 years' annual rents amounting to 20s, arising from the tenements of Roger Cursor (2s.), William Archer (2s.), John Archer (3s.), William Tappeyalde (4s.), Alan, son of Alan de Gnipe (8s.), and a half acre at the head of the Langeflatte 12d. To this John de Rossegil and Robert Lengleys, knights, Adam de Musgrave and John, son of Martin "and others," are witnesses.

The shortness of money referred to may probably have been caused in part by the case in Assize at Carlisle (A.R.

134) which Ralf, together with John, son of Adam, son of Gilbert de Dundragh, Henry Genery and Joan his wife, William de Crokelyn and Sibil his wife and Cristiana daughter of Isolda daughter of Gilbert de Dundragh had, putting in claim against Isabel de Fortibus, Countess of Albemarle, that she should hand over to them the custody of the lands and heir of Gilbert de Hothwayt, because his lands were held of them by cornage (military service). They claimed the custody because Robert, father of the heir, Isabel de Twynham, held two carucates of land in (a place whose name is lost), by homage and service of 30d. cornage, and the seisin had been acknowledged (by Robert) and, of course, the dues paid. The damage, they said, to them was £20, which the countess caused. The answer of the countess was that while they were claiming the custody of the Hothwayt lands their plea was actually for custody of the Twynham heir. This discrepancy or omission in the claim, in reality a quibble, was allowed. They lost the case and must have been landed in costs.

In 1296 Ralf granted to his son, Henry de Cundal and Sibilla, daughter of Simon de Brampton, and the heirs of Henry and Sibilla his whole manor and all his messuages together with 29 acres of demesne, and his mill and its suit and all the lands and meadows which Simon de Kendale and William Lambhirde had in Hognype, 10 acres of demesne in Bampton Cundal lying in the Midflat, 2 acres in Pyenestebank, 2 acres in Burghanes, 2 acres in Stanysflat, 4 acres in Saterkewathe, 3 of them lying by Crofton, 21 at the end of Saterkewathe (Sakwath); together with the services and 18d. yearly rent paid by Henry Mauchal, the services and rent (6d.) paid by Alexander Dodding, the services and rent (2d.) paid by Henry Tosan, the services and rent (12d.) paid by Walter Ballok, the services and rent (5s. 6d.) paid by Hugh, son of Martin (evidently de Butterwick), the services and rent (2s.) paid by Ralf Totyns, the services and rent (6d.) paid

by Richard Berwys—to have and to hold of the chief lords of the fee. The witnesses were Hugh de Louther and Robert le Engleys, knights, Adam de Haverington, John de Helton, Nicholas de Grendon, John le Surreys, Adam de Musgrave, Thomas Wynder (?) "and others."

Then follows, in February, 1296 (Wednesday after St. Valentine, 24 Edward), an arrangement by which Henry de Cundal and Sibilla, daughter of Simon de Brampton, grant back to Ralf their manor of Bampton Cundal which they hold of his gift, except the mill thereof and its whole suit, 10 acres of the demesne, 4 acres of meadow within the bounds of Bampton, 26 acres of land in Hognype, the whole lands and tenements of Simon de Kendal and William "de" Lambehird (held of Ralf), the services and rents of Henry Mauchal, Alexander Dodding, Henry Tosan, Walter Ballock, Hugh, son of Martin, Ralf Totyns and Richard Berewys, and except the whole land and 9s. rent which John "called the cook" of Penrith held by concession and demise of the said Henry and Sibilla for a term of 10 years and except the land of Quiterbye (?) which Mr. Adam le Franceys held and except the lands and tenements and services of the freeholders and villeins "which Patrick de Corwen" holds by demise of Ralf for the term of 40 years, and except the lands and tenements which the Abbot of Shap has for a term of years and the services and rents of Adam de Musgrave and Adam de Par; and reserving to the aforesaid Henry and Sibilla common of pasture, etc. The dues were to be 1d. at St. Lawrence, and Ralf was to hold for life. The witnesses to this were Robert le Engleys and John de Rosgill, knights, Adam de Musgrave, Adam de Haverington, Nicholas de Grendon, Thomas Wynder "and others." The lands, rents and services mortgaged to Patrick de Curwen, those leased to the Abbey of Shap, those which Mr. Adam le Franceys held, those already leased to Adam "the cook," and apparently handed over in a former grant to Henry

and Sibilla, were naturally outside any agreement of being granted back. But except the manorial dues (not counting those of the mill) it looks as if very little was left for Ralf to hold in possession. I dare say he knew what he had. Some supposed great advantage in the Brampton alliance* or some need of barring possible claimants to the manor to ensure an inheritance for Henry and Sibilla are the only reasons I can think of (unless it was incapable management) and he followed it all up by granting to Mr. William de Brampton (son of Simon, apparently, and brother of Sibilla) his whole land also of Ryseburgh (Risebarrow below Knype Moor) which he held by gift of Henry and Sibil; but this could only be a tenure for his own lifetime. One of the exceptions in the grant back, the land which John called the Cook held, had been leased for 20 years, and the holding transferred to Henry and his wife. The acknowledgement of the seisin, of John the Cook, exists; in other words the attournment of his services to Henry as his new lord. In this he calls himself John, called the Cook, of Edenhall: in the charter already quoted he is called "of Penrith." He must have been one of the family which held Little Salkeld by grant of Richard I. This attournment deed is dated Sunday after the Purification of St. Mary, 25 Edward (1297).

No later charters of Ralf de Cundal exist. Perhaps it was time he had done. But traces of him in his later years exist elsewhere. In A.R. 130 (1277-8) he had a case in Assize which gives us the Christian name of his wife—Margaret—a claim against Adam Turpe of Edenhal for depriving him and Margaret of their freehold in Edenhal, one messuage and two bovates of land. For pledges that he would bring up the case in court he put in William de la Weste—(Waste, *i.e.* la Feritate put into English oddly

* What I have been able to trace of the history of the de Brampton family follows in Appendix VII.

enough), and Gilbert, son of Alexander de Dundragh. He won his case. Evidently the land was Margaret's, whose ancestors must have been tenants under the de Brus family, from whom Adam Turpe had purchased Edenhall, and the action was to maintain the rights her family had held under the old lords. It was by no means the only case of the sort which the new owner, Adam Turpe, had to have settled by Assize.

The last trace of Ralf de Cundal is in Assize Roll 139 of 34 Edward I. (Dec. 8, 1305); a case against Joan, widow of John de Reygate and wife of John de Wigton, William de Partan and others as disseising him of two messuages, two tofts, two bovates and four acres of land and four acres of meadow in Dundragh. John de Wigton stated that Margaret, wife of Ralf de Cundal, held this of Ralf, under the name of dowry, and that Ralf had enfeoffed Mr. Adam le Franceys in part of it and in the reversion of the rest, and Adam le Fraunceys enfeoffed the aforesaid John (de Reygate) apparently. The jury's verdict is especially interesting as another illustration added to those I gave in the Sandford paper of mediaeval feeling and thought in these tenures. Margaret, they said, had held the land under the name of dower, of the heredity of Ralf de Cundale, only of him, and of no other. She had never attourned herself to Adam le Franceys nor to the aforesaid Joan, wife of John de Reygate, but had persisted in her fealty to Ralf himself. After her death Ralf entered into the possession of the tenements as his right was and was seised therein till the accused disseised him. He was to recover his seisin, was the verdict, and damages two marks were granted, of which one was to go to the court. It is clear enough that Ralf's grant of the tenancy to Adam le Franceys was not made to deprive her of the dowry and so stultify his gift, but to put in a tenant who should give her the dues as profit. Adam, however, had put in an under-tenant, Joan, then wife of John de Reigate;

and when he was dead she married John de Wigton. But Margaret did not own these as placed above her in the tenement, and so preserved for her husband, after her death, his hereditary right. It looks like an attempt of one of the de Wigton family to regain, by a trick, what had been sold out in the preceding generations.

The charters of Bampton begin again in a series with which Henry, son and successor of Ralf, is concerned. One of these, a charter by John Maltman, is apparently a deed of relinquishment by him of the grant aforetime made by Ralf to John, son of William Prudhome. John Maltman gives up his land of Lytilwater to Henry de Cundal to be held of the chief lords, which I take to be tantamount to complete release. The witnesses were Gilbert de Culwen and Robert le Engleys, knights, Henry de Haverington, William de Bradley, John son of Martin, Henry Tosan, Alexander Dodding "and others." Another charter is that of Roger de Rysebanke, son of Adam, who released to Henry de Cundal all the right he had in the lands of Rysebank and Pyenestbank which, once his father's—Adam's de Rysebank—came to him as son and heir (22 Aug., 1314). Robert le Engleis, John le Engleis and John de Rossegil, knights, Henry de Haverington, Robert de Clyburne, William de Bradley, John son of Martin, and Hugh, his brother, Henry Tosan and Alexander Dodding, "and others" witnessed.

Other charters, too, of the under-tenants of the 14th century tend to make clear the history of certain portions of Bampton, and lead up to later times.

A portion of Butterwick had gone direct from William son of John de Helton and Cristiana, his wife, in exchange for some land in Lowther, to Hugh de Louther, kt. and Inetta. This was one messuage and one bovate in Bampton Condale for one messuage and seven acres in Bampton, giving very nearly the same measure for a bovate there which was given by the charter of Ralf, son of Thomas de

Cundale before (p. 292). Of this family de Helton, which must have been there before or under the de Morvilles, one has few and scattered traces only: their time had already passed away. This deed of grant to Hugh de Lowther and Inetta was witnessed by Robert le Engleis and Thomas de Helbek, knights, John de Rosgile, Nicholas de Grendon, Gilbert Engayne, William de Bradley, Henry de Redmenes (?), Robert Cutte "and others."

Between May, 1324 and February, 1327, Adam de Coupland granted to Sir Hugh de Louther and Margaret, his wife, and the heirs of Hugh, the shieling with a close called Hueloc skale (see p. 294) "in Bampton Patrik and Bampton Cundale" to be held of the chief lords of the fee. I find no record of consent by a de Cundale or de Culwen; some such must surely have existed. The witnesses to Adam de Coupland's grant were Gilbert de Lancaster, John de Rossegill and Robert de Askebi, knights, Henry de Threlkelde at the time (deputy) sheriff of Westmorland, Henry de Haverington, John de Berewis, Gilbert Engayne "and others"; quite enough to see that it was properly done.

Another portion of Bampton, for which in 1333 Henry son of Jordan de Bampton consented to have Hugh de Lowther and Margaret and the heirs of Hugh above him as mesne lords, seems to have passed in immediate ownership (actual tenancy) to William son of Jordan for life in 1349. This was in Sakwath. The deed is fragmentary and was drawn up by Henry le Bester, chaplain, and Richard de Warthecopp, and the holding seems to be described as one messuage and 4½ acres of meadow "as the riddings descend unto the *matricem mariscum*" of Sakkewath. It was to remain after the death of William, son of Jurdan to John [ ] and his heirs. The deed is endorsed, apparently by Burn, "Bampton and Dufton," but the portion relating to Dufton does not now exist. In 1336, the same Henry, son of Jordan, granted to Hugh

de Louther and Margaret and the heirs of Hugh a house with a curtilage containing three perches and seven acres and three roods of ground to be held on the same terms.

In 1336, John son of William de Bradeley released to Sibilla, his sister and her lawful heirs all claims he had in the land which Alexander Dodding once held of his brother in Kerholand (Carhullan) in Bampton Cundal and in two acres of meadow in Sacwath, which land his father William had granted to Sibilla. For some reason or other he also released to his father William all his right in four acres in Sakwath lying beside the meadow of Henry de Cundal, and also the messuage which Alexander Dodding the younger held of him in Kerholand: this was in the year 1337. And then Sibil, daughter of William de Bradley, granted to her father, William, the messuage in Kerholand and the two acres in Sakwath which she had by his gift. All this is legal device for entail, I take it. But these seem to be the tenements granted in 1366 by Sibil, widow of Robert Frereson, to Edmund and Idonea de Sandford—one messuage and nine acres, specified only as in Bampton Cundal.

There are a few further records of Butterwick under the de Cundal régime. On 16 February, 1321, John de Butterwick gave to Robert, his son, and Emma, daughter of William le Serjeaunt of Rosgill, his rents of 8s. which Jordan son of Matilda paid him yearly for his holding of the Cragg. They were to have it for life. Hugh de Lowther, deputy sheriff, and Gilbert de Culwen and John de Rosgill, knights, and Thomas de Preston and William de Bradley, witnessed. In 1323, John de Butterwick granted to William le Engleys and Elena, his wife, all his land of Butterwick and le Craghe in "Bampton Patrick." If William le Engleys and Elena died without heirs, as they did, the land was to remain to Robert le Engleys; and if he died without heirs, to the right heirs of William le Engleys. This deed Hugh de Louther, deputy sheriff,

Robert de Askeby and John de Rosgill, knights, and Henry de Cundal, Henry de Haverington, Thomas de Preston, William de Bradley and William de Bourdel witnessed. It is dated Bampton Church, the Sunday before St. Gregory, 16 Edward, son of Edward (6 March, 1323). Also, about 1324, Matilda, widow of John de Butterwyk, in her pure widowhood released to William le Engleis, his heirs and assigns, all claim she had in Butterwick. Thus, these, as parts of John de Butterwick's land, would descend to the daughter of Robert le Engleys (see "Lengleys," these *Trans.* N.S. xx), and through her to the family of Thornburgh, but that the failure of the Thornburghs to establish their claim caused the lands to go to Thomas Lengleys, lord of Helton, elder brother of Robert Lengleys, and through him to the Sandfords. I have already shown how portions went direct to the Lowther family.

Then John, son of Martin de Butterwick, gave to Margaret, his daughter, and her heirs all his land in Rughol and all his houses there, and the services in the land called le Slachys, she paying to Henry de Cundal 2d. yearly, 1d. at Christmas and 1d. at the Feast of St. Lawrence. Thus this portion remained in Cundal ownership. Another portion of land passed from John Harald of Butterwick to Henry son of Simon, his brother, in 1346, viz. 2½ acres of land and 1 rood of meadow between the lands of John de Butterwick and Thomas Bradferthings in Bampton Cundal and called Ilmyre. Henry, son of Simon, son of Hugh de Butterwick granted these acres which he had from John Harald to Joan, daughter of John Hoghird, to hold for life; and together with them the "remainder" of all that he held by grant of Simon, his father, was also, after the decease of Simon and Matilda, his wife, to go to Joan. This grant was made in 1348. And in 1369 Gilbert Jaket, vicar of Bampton, John Dobynson and Robert son of Henry Seletson, interim feoffees, granted

to John son of Henry Symson, John his brother, Adam Tosane and John Hoghird, tailor, all the tenements which they had in Boterwyke in Bampton Cundal by enfeoffment of Henry Symson and Joan, his wife. These were evidently a further set of interim feoffees; and the date was Sunday before the Palm branches, 43 Edw. III. (5th Sunday in Lent). The witnesses were Gilbert de Culwen and Hugh de Louther, knights, Edmund de Sandforth, William de Horneby, Hugh de Salkeld, Henry Wateson Hotblak (*i.e.* Henry Hotblak, son of Walter) "and others."

A holding of a family named Birkrig, in Rughole and le Slakes, was confirmed to Henry Watson of Bampton, for life, remainder to Thomas Baty of Salkeld and, should he die without having an heir, to Margaret, late wife of Roger Baty, sister of John Birkrigg; then to Cristiana, wife of Robert Walker, another sister; then to Agnes, widow of Robert Faussehede (of this family one was married to a Curwen—see "de Culwen" these *Trans.* N.S. xiv.), and lastly, to Joan, wife of William del Rigg. Robert Baty quitclaimed what he had in Bampton to Thomas Baty in 1431. This portion was granted by William Baty, rector of Ullesby, to William, son and heir of Thomas Baty of Warcop and Joan, his wife, daughter of Roger Salkeld. There was also connected with this a tenement in Carlton by Penrith. These had come to Robert Baty through Thomas Haryngton, knight, and John Warcop, rector of Melmerby, interim feoffees, both deceased, to whom Thomas Baty, his deceased brother, grandfather of the aforesaid William, had conveyed them. The date of this is 12 April, 2 Rich. III., 1485. Three Salkelds are witnesses—William Salkeld, Thomas Salkeld and Roger Salkeld, and beside them John Rigg and Thomas Augill.

The carrying down of this last had taken me beyond Cundal times, but it was the only one of these portions of

Bampton which it seemed necessary in this paper to follow up to complete my tale. The few remaining portions belong more naturally to the times of Cliburn ownership. I now go back to the main history of the Cundal owners.

In 1338 Henry de Cundal made a marriage-portion for his son Roger, who married Christiana, daughter of Walter (the) Forester—evidently the Curwen forester at Thornthwaite (Appendix IV), and so de Culwen's forester. The grant has nothing like the elaborate provision for the Brampton marriage. A release given to Roger by Richard de Cundal, of whom one has no other trace, made about this time and witnessed by Walter the Forester among others, seems to relate to a greater grant which had been made to his father; but all that we learn about this is that it included three tenements in Measand. It looks as though it is connected with the Forester marriage portion.

In 1361 comes a grant by Roger de Cundal to John Ellotson, chaplain, and Henry Watson, interim feoffees, of all that he has in Bampton except one piece of ground called Cristecroft, services and rents of all included, to be held by them of the chief lords of the fee; Saturday before Michaelmas, 35 Edw. III. (Appendix Va).

It was the beginning of the end. Sons had not come to Roger and his wife. The last charter follows, showing the form of the entail (Appendix Vb). There were, evidently, no close relatives of the male sex remaining. The Richard mentioned a little while back may have been a cousin, but one has no record of any son he left. The next we have of Bampton Cundale shows the manor to be in the possession of Robert de Clibburn by right of his wife, Margaret, Roger's eldest of three daughters.

It was the usual thing in such cases for the daughters to be co-heiresses, and one is surprised that this was not the case here. But the traditions of tenure of Bampton Cundal seem not to have been bound by this, or else the

inheritance was too small for it to be allowed, under the rules of the descent of manors held in cornage.

There was one contemporary de Cundal belonging to the family whose relationship could not be distant—the only one I have been able to trace. This was "Mr." William de Cundale who appears as attorney in assize. He might easily have been Roger's brother; he was a cleric and died before the entail of 1361. But he was an interesting man. Not only was he attorney in a case mixed up much with various members of the de Brampton family in the assize of 1346 (A.R. 1435) but I have learned the following particulars about him from my kind friend Dr. Magrath, provost of Queen's College, Oxford. He first entered University College, Oxford, and then joined Eglesfield's foundation of Queen's College. In 1331 he was provided with authority for presentation, given at the king's request by Pope John XXII., to a living in the gift of the Abbot of York, of 20 marks' value with cure of souls, or 15 marks without (Bliss, *Papal Letters*). He was the first of the fellows of Queen's mentioned by Eglisfield in his statutes as constituting, with the provost, the first college, and is said to have belonged to the diocese of Carlisle. He died, it was stated, in Westmorland in 1350 (E. R. Morse, Bodl. MSS., Gough MS. Oxon., 15, fol. 29). His executors, Nicholas de Aston and John de Stanton, paid to the college, according to an agreement mentioning debts and a legacy to the college, dated 6 November, 1352, the third of the residue of his estate after getting in his debts. He had been the first bursar of Queen's, but his roll is lost.

I think he might easily have been a personal friend, from before his Oxford days, of Eglisfield's, for the Dundragh* heritage of the Cundals was near the Eglisfield estate in

* What became of the Distington and Dundragh possessions I have not been able, so far, to discover. They did not descend to the Cliburn family through Margaret de Cundale, nor did the lands in Edenhall.

Cumberland; and, moreover, Brough, where Eglisfield was rector, is near to Brampton. His career is a fitting ending of the de Cundal line as a precursor of the long list of scholars and benefactors to their native parish which have been; of whom we read something in Miss Mary Noble's *History of Bampton,* which concerns much later times than this paper has to deal with.

Appendices.

Ia.—Grant by Ralf, son Thomas de Cundale, to Hugh de Lowther of Land in Bampton (1286).

Omnibus hoc scriptum visuris vel audituris Radulfus filius Thome de Cundale salutem in Domino sempiternam. Noveritis me dedisse concessisse et hac presenti carta mea confirmasse Hugoni de Louthyr et Inette uxori ejus duo messuagia et tresdecim acras terre cum pertinentiis in Bamptone Cundale, illa scilicet duo messuagia et ille tresdecim acre terre quas recuperavi de Radulfo filio Willi. de Cundale per warantiam quam feci Ricardo de Berewis versus quem tuli breve mortis antecessoris coram T. de Reygate et G. Agellum, anno regni Edwardi 12° (1283-4). Tenenda et habenda dictis Hugoni et Inette et heredibus ipsius Hugonis libere quiete bene et in pace cum omnibus libertatibus et aisiamentis ville de Bamptone Cundale infra et extra pertinentibus: reddendo capitali domino feodi sex denarios per annum pro omni servitio seculari exactione et demanda. (Warr. contra omnes homines.) His Testibus; Roberto de Morvile, Ricardo de Musegrave, Gilberto de Witeby, Johe de Quale, Henrico de Witeby, Ad. Scegg de Louthir et aliis.

Digest of Meaning.

To all who shall see or hear this writing Ralf, son of Thomas de Cundale, wishes everlasting safety in the Lord. Know ye that I have granted and confirmed by this present charter to Hugh de Louthyr and Jenet, his wife, two messuages and 13 acres of land with their belongings

in Bampton Cundal which I recovered from Ralf, son of William de Cundal, by warranty which I gave to Richard de Berwis against whom I carried a writ of Mort d'Ancestor before J(ohn) de Reigate and G(eoffrey) Agellom in the 12th year of King Edward (1283-4). To be held by Hugh and Jenet and the heirs of Hugh in free and undisturbed possession with all liberties and easements thereto belonging, inside or outside of the vill, they rendering to the chief lords of the fee 6d. yearly for all services.

Ib.—Confirmation by Ralf, son of William de Cundale, Lord of Bampton Cundale, of the Grant by Ralf, son of Thomas de Cundale, to Hugh de Lowther (1286).

Omnibus hoc scriptum visuris etc. Radulphus filius Willi. de Cundale salutem in Domino sempiternam. Noverit universitas vestra me inspexisse cartam Radulfi filii Thome de Cundale quam fecit Hugoni de Louther et Inette uxori ejus in hec verba, Omnibus hoc scriptum etc. Radulfus filius Thome de Cundale salutem etc. Noveritis me dedisse etc. Hugoni de Louthre et Inette uxori ejus duo messuagia et 13 acras terre cum pertinentiis in Bamptone Cundale illa scilicet duo messuagia et illas 13 acras terre quas recuperavi de Radulpho filio Willi. de Cundal etc. etc. Quare ego Radulphus concedo et confirmo pro me et heredibus meis omnia predicta tenementa predictis Hugoni et Inette et heredibus ipsius Hugonis tenenda libere quiete bene et in pace ut predictum est: reddendo michi et heredibus meis unum granum piperis pro omnibus servitiis secularibus. (Warrant. contra omnes homines etc.) His testibus, dominis Johanne de Rossegille, Roberto le Engleis, militibus, Roberto de Morvile, Ricardo de Musgrave, Ada de Haverington, Ada de Musgrave, Johanne de Quale et Henrico de eadem. Dat. apud Helton Flechan. In crastino circumcisionis Domini 14 Edw.

Digest of Meaning.

To all who shall see etc. Ralf, son of William de Cundale everlasting safety in the Lord, etc. Know all of you that I have inspected a charter of Ralf, son of Thomas de Cundale, made out to Hugh de Lowther and Jenet, his wife, in these words, etc.—I have given to Hugh de Louthre and his wife Jenet two messuages and 13 acres of land which I recovered from Ralf, son of William de Cundale, etc. Wherefore I, Ralf, son of William de Cundale, concede and confirm for myself and my heirs the grant to Hugh de Louthre of this freehold, he and his heirs giving to me and my heirs a grain of pepper yearly.

I have come to the conclusion that the name of Hugh de Lowther's wife is not Ivetta, but Inetta, *i.e.* Jenet. The Assize Roll of 12 Edward I., in which year J(ohn) de Reigate and G(eoffrey) Agellum* were justices in eyre, does not appear to exist, and we have no statement of the proceedings. It is, therefore, not easy to be sure what the case was. So far as I understand, however, it seems to have been this :—Ralf, son of Thomas de Cundale, put in as free tenant, in land he had inherited from his father, Richard de Berwis, and it was his duty to warrant de Berwis against any claim made against him. Apparently Ralf, son of William, questioned this grant as owner of Bampton Cundale, whose freeholder under him, Ralf, son of Thomas, was. The case was tried by writ of Mort d'Ancestor and Ralf, son of Thomas, was able to show that his father Thomas had had the grant to him made by the ancestor of Ralf, son of William, who as heir to that ancestor was bound to warrant Ralf, son of Thomas, and could not recall the land. Hence, Ralf son of Thomas could part with it to Hugh de Lowther but could not disseize Ralf, son of William, lord of Bampton Cundale ; from this came the confirmation by Ralf son of William and the

* Geoffrey Agillum is referred to as a Justice in Eyre at Carlisle in some former year, in A.R. 984, 19 Edw. I. (1291).

pepper-corn rent by which de Lowther acknowledged the mesne lordship of de Cundale. De Berwis was not obliged to be ousted by the transfer to de Lowther, and perhaps the warranty given to him was to secure him against this. It will have been noticed in the history preceding that John de Reygate married one of the coparceners of the Dundragh lands and was, I suppose, prospering—and that Ralf de Cundal brought action against her in Assize in 1305.

II.—Grant by Ralf, son of William de Cundale, of Lytlewater, to John, son of William Prudhome; between Oct. 1290 and Michaelmas 1291.

Sciant omnes tam presentes quam futuri quod ego Radulphus filius et heres Willi. de Cundale dedi concessi et hac presenti carta mea confirmavi Johanni filio Willi. Prudhome de Wytherwerslak et heredibus suis sive assignatis totam illam terram meam de Lytelwater in territorio de Bampton, cum toto prato et vasto predicte terre pertinente, quam quidem terram cum pertinentiis suis Robertus Schappeman aliquando de patre meo tenuit apud Lytelwater: tenendam et habendam predicto Johanni et heredibus suis sive assignatis de me et heredibus meis sive assignatis nostris, exceptis viris religiosis judeis et paganis, libere honorifice bene et in pace cum omnibus libertatibus et aysiamentis predicte ville de Bampton pertinentibus; reddendo inde annuatim mihi et heredibus meis sive assignatis nostris 3 solidos argenti: medietatem scilicet ad Pentecosten et aliam medietatem ad festum St. Martini in Hyeme et faciendo servitium quod predicta terra facere consuevit pro omnibus aliis servitiis exactis et demandis, excepto quod predictus Johannes et heredes sui sive assignati facient sectam ad curiam meam de Bampton ter in annum tantum et quieti erunt de pannagio et molent bladum suum crescens in predicta terra ad molendinum meum de Bampton ad ter-

tium decimum vas. Et si animalia cujuscunque generis predicti Johannis et heredum suorum sive assignatorum inventi fuerint aliquo tempore anni in hegeningo meo de Bampton sine custod(e), recacientur. Et dabit predictus Johannes heredes sui sive assignati pro verbo 6d. pro blodwyt 12d. si de forisfacto fuerint convicti. Preterea predicti Johannes heredes sui sive assignati facient escambium de aliqua parte predicte terre pro adeo bona terra cum predicto Radulpho heredibus suis sive assignatis si contigerit eos processu temporis molendinum fullorum construere vel hegeningum suum de Bampton imparcare. Ego vero heredes mei sive assignati mei totam predictam terram cum suis pertinentiis, sicut predictum est, predicto Johanni et heredibus ejus sive assignatis contra omnes homines et feminas warrantizabimus in perpetuum. Et ut hec mea donatio concessio et confirmatio robur firmitatis optineat huic presenti scripto sigillum meum apposui. His testibus, dnis Th. de Curewen, Johe de Rossegyle, Roberto le Engleis, militibus, Gilberto de Brunolvesheved tunc Vice-com. Westmerl., Ad. de Musegrave, Hugone filio Martini, Johe fratre ejus et aliis.

DIGEST OF MEANING.

Know all etc. that I Ralf, son and heir of William de Cundale, have granted to John, son of William Prudhome of Wytherwerslak, and his heirs etc. all my land of Lytelwater in Bampton with all the meadow and waste belonging thereto, which Robert Schappeman once held of my father: to have and to hold, he and his heirs and assigns also except they belong to a religious order or are Jews or pagans, in freehold; together with all easements pertaining: he and they rendering to me and my heirs etc. 3s. of silver money, half at Pentecost and half at St. Martin in the winter, yearly; and doing the service which this land is wont to do, except that John and his heirs or assigns shall do suit at my court in Bampton three times in the year only and shall pay no dues for pannage and shall grind the

corn growing on the holding at my mill in Bampton up to the 13th measure. And if any beasts belonging to John and his heirs etc. are found at any time in my reserve in Bampton without a herdsman they shall be driven out. John and his heirs etc. shall give the usual fines for assault by word or deed 6d. or for drawing blood 1s., if convicted of such trespass. And also they shall be ready to exchange any part of the aforesaid land with Ralf and his heirs for other land as good, should Ralf and his heirs or assigns wish in process of time to erect a fulling mill on the land or to impark their reserve. Ralf warrants this to John for all time.

III.—Agreement for a Lease between Ralf de Cundale son of William, and Patrick de Culwen (16 July, 1295).

A.D. MCCXCV die Sabbati proxima ante festum Ste. Margarete Virginis facta est hec conventio inter Radulphum de Cundale filium et heredem Willi. de Cundale ex una parte et Patricium de Culwen filium Gilberti de Culwen ex altera: videlicet quod predictus Radulphus concessit ac dimisit dicto Patricio et heredibus suis sive assignatis 38 acras terre arabilis et 2 acras prati de dominicis terris suis in territorio de Bampton Cundal usque ad terminum 40 annorum plenarie completorum scilicet 22 acras terre arabilis super Frythemor et Borghamor, et 8 acras terre super Heythflatt et Stonelbrad et 3 acras terre super Coulandes et Castelgate et 4 acras terre super Waytcroft et unam acram terre super Hardegate et 1 acram prati et dimid. in Langwra in Sakwath et dimidiam acram prati ad capud de Langflat. Tenend. et habend. de predicto Radulpho et heredibus suis vel assignatis predicto Patricio et heredibus suis vel assignatis cum omnibus pertinentiis et aysiamentis dicte ville infra et extra pertinentibus, libere quiete bene et in pace, pro quadam summa pecunie a predicto Patricio pre manibus

in magna necessitate sua recepta. Et dictus Radulphus et heredes sui et assignati omnes predictas terras arabiles et prata sicut predictum est predicto Patricio et heredibus suis sive suis assignatis usque ad dictum terminum plenarie completum contra omnes gentes et feminas warrantizabunt acquietabunt et defendent; sub pena 40 librarum sterlingorum executoribus negociorum Sancte Crucis sine strepitu judiciali levandarum de predicto Radulpho et heredibus suis sive assignatis. Et si contingat quod predictus Radulphus aut heredes sui sive assignati totas illas terras prenominatas vel partes illarum vendere aut alienare sive per aliquid tempus diutius ad firmam voluerint dimittere, tunc prefatus Patricius et heredes sui sive assignati sine aliqua contradictione pre ceteris erunt propinquiores. Ita quod infra dicte dimissionis terminum nullus per dictum Radulphum vel heredes suos sive assignatos dictam terram cum pertinentiis ingrediatur nec extra[neat] dummodo dictus Patricius vel heredes sui tantum pro dicta terra dare voluerint quantum alii quicumque fideles. Et sciendum est quod in ultimo anno termini sui durabit terminus predicti Patricii vel heredum suorum sive assignatorum usque ad festum Sti. Martini in Hyeme proxime sequens. In cujus rei etc. Hiis testibus, dominis Thom. de Hellebek tunc Vic. Westmerl', Ric de Musgrave tunc Coronatore, Johe de Rossegill, Rob'to le Engleys, militibus, Ad. de Musgrave de Gnypp, Willo. Prudum de Neuby, Willo. Pinkeney de Reuegill, Johe de Ravensby et aliis.

DIGEST OF MEANING.

Agreement between Ralf, son and heir of William de Cundal, and Patrick de Culwen, son of Gilbert, showing that Ralf has granted and leased to Patrick, his heirs or assigns, for 40 years from this date, Saturday before the feast of St. Margaret the Virgin, 1295, 38 acres of arable land and 2 acres of grass land of his demesne in Bampton Cundal, namely 22 acres of arable above Frythemor and

Borghamor, 8 acres above Heythflatt and Stonelbrad, 3 acres above Coulandes and Castlegate, and 4 acres above Waytcroft, and 1 acre above Hardegate, and 1 acre and a half of meadow in Langwra and Sakwath, and a half acre at the head of Langflat, and the lease includes all the rights and easements: in return for a sum of money given by Patrick de Culwen to Ralf in his great need. Ralf and his heirs warrant the tenure under forfeit of £40 to be levied without recourse to law. And if Ralf or his heirs or assigns shall sell or alienate any of the land or wish to lease them for any longer term Patrick and his heirs and assigns shall have the first refusal. And also it is a condition that within the term of lease no one through Ralf, his heirs or assigns, shall enter upon or vacate the land so long as Patrick or his heirs are as willing to give as much as any other of the faithful; and the term in the last year to end up shall be St. Martin's in the winter, as witness these; Sir Thomas de Hellebek, then sheriff of Westmorland, Sir Richard de Musgrave, then coroner, Sir John de Rosgil and Sir Robert le Engleys, knights, Adam de Musgrave of Gnyp, William Prudhom of Newby, William de Pinkeney of Reagill, John de Ravensby and others.

There seems to be some omission before 'Sancte Crucis' and the meaning of the sentence is obscure.

IV.—Marriage Endowment of Roger de Cundale by his father Henry de Cundale (16 Jany., 1339).

Sciant etc. quod ego Henricus de Cundal dedi concessi et hac presenti carta mea confirmavi Rogero filio meo et Cristiane uxori sue filie Walteri Forester * et heredibus suis legittime procreatis omnia terras et prata cum suis pertinentiis que Willus. de Wetlay de me tenuit in hameletta de Hognype in villa de Bampton Cundale: tenenda et

* Walter le Forester in A.R. 993, in a case in which Gilbert de Culwen and others are to answer John de Rossegill about dissession of common at Hepp.

habenda predictis Rogero et Cristiane uxori sue et heredibus de corporibus suis legittime procreatis per servitia inde debita et de jure consueta: et si contingat quod predictus Rogerus sine herede de corpore suo legittime procreato obierit, quod absit, volo tunc quod predicta terre et prata cum pertinentiis omnibus mihi et heredibus meis integre revertant. Sed volo quod predicta Cristiana uxor predicti Rogeri predicta terras et prata tenuerit toto tempore vite sue: reddendo mihi et heredibus post decessum predicti Rogeri 4s. per annum ad duos anni terminos viz. medietatem ad festum Pentecostes et aliam medietatem ad festum Sti. Martini in Ieme. Et ego vero etc. (warrant for both). In cujus testimonium etc.

His Testibus, dominis Hugone de Louthre, Thoma de Stirkeland, Johanne de Rossegill, militibus; Roberto Boteler, Johanne de Stirkeland, Gilberto Engayne et aliis. Datum apud Bampton die Sabbati proxima post festum Sti. Hilarii anno regni regis Edwardi tertii post conquestum 12°.

DIGEST OF MEANING.

Know all etc. that I, Henry de Cundal, have granted and confirmed to Roger my son and Christiana his wife, daughter of Walter Forester, and the legitimate heirs of their bodies all the lands and meadows which William de Wetlay held of me in the hamlet of Hognype: to be held by them by the services usual from the land. Should it happen that Roger dies without heir, which God forbid, I will that the tenements revert to me and my heirs in entirety. I wish that Christiana shall hold them should Roger die first, for her life, giving to me and my heirs, after his death 4s. yearly in two instalments.

Va.—GRANT BY ROGER DE CUNDAL OF BAMPTON TO INTERIM FEOFFEES (2 OCT. 1361).

Sciant presentes etc. quod ego Rogerus de Cundale dedi et concessi etc. Johanni Ellotson capellano et Hen-

rico Watson omnia mea terras et tenementa cum pertinentiis in Bampton Cundal excepta una placea terre vocata Cristecroft, cum servitiis et redditibus liberorum tenentium meorum in eadem villa: habenda et tenenda predictis Johanni et Henrico et heredibus et assignatis suis etc. exceptis etc. libere et in pace de capitalibus dominis feodi illius per servitia etc. Warrant. contra omnes gentes. His testibus, Gilberto de Culwen, Thoma Lengleys, militibus, Roberto de Layburn de Therneby, Simone de Culwen, Johanne de Bradeley et multis aliis. Apud Bampton Cundale sabbato proximo post festum Sti. Michaelis Archangeli, 35 Edw. III.

DIGEST OF MEANING.

Know all men etc. that I, Roger de Cundale, have granted to John Ellotson, chaplain, and Henry Watson all my lands and tenements in Bampton Cundal, except the plot of ground called Cristecroft, with all services and dues; for them and their heirs or assigns to hold in free tenure of the chief lords of the fee by the services thereto belonging. Warranty against all men.

Vb.—GRANT BACK OF BAMPTON CUNDALE TO ROGER DE CUNDALE AND CHRISTIANA, AND ENTAIL (OCT. 1361).

Sciant presentes etc. quod nos Johannes Ellotson Vicarius ecclesie de Bampton et Henricus Watson dedimus et concessimus et hac presenti carta nostra duplicata confirmavimus Rogero de Cundale et Cristiane uxori ejus omnia terras et tenementa nostra cum suis pertinentiis in Bampton Cundal cum etc. sine ullo retenemento predictis Rogero et Cristiane uxori ejus et heredibus masculis de corporibus etc. Ita videlicet quod si contingat quod predicti Rogerus et Cristiana obierint sine herede masculo de corporibus ipsorum exeunte, quod absit, tunc omnia predicta terre et tenementa cum pertinentiis integre remaneant Margarete filie predictorum Rogeri et

Cristiane et heredibus masculis de corpore suo exeuntibus: et si contingat quod Margareta obierit sine herede masculo de corpore suo exeunte, tunc omnia predicta terre etc. integre remaneant Johanne sorori predicte Margarete et heredibus masculis etc. Et si contingat quod predicta Johanna obierit sine herede etc. tunc omnia predicta etc. remaneant integre Alicie sorori predicte Johanne et heredibus suis etc. Et si contingat quod predicta Alicia sine herede etc. obierit tune omnia predicta etc. remaneant integre rectis heredibus predicti Rogeri in perpetuum. Warrant etc. His testibus, Gilberto de Culwen, Thoma Lengleys, militibus, Roberto de Layburn de Thirneby, Simone de Culwen, Johanne de Bradley et mult. aliis. Apud Bampton Cundal, die Martis post festum Sti. Michaelis Archang., 35 Ed. III.

DIGEST OF MEANING.

Know all men etc. that we John Ellotson, vicar of the church of Bampton, and Henry Watson have given, granted and confirmed to Roger de Cundale and Cristiana, his wife, all our lands and tenements in Bampton Cundale and their appurtenances without reserve, to be held by them and the heirs male of their bodies. But so that if it happen, which God forbid, that they die without such heir male, then all the lands and tenements shall remain in entirety to Margaret their daughter and her male heirs: should she die having none, then they shall remain in entirety to her sister Joan: should she also die without male heirs, they shall remain to her sister Alice: should she have no male heir they shall revert to the right heirs of Roger for all time.

VI.—GRANT OF THE LEDYATE, BAMPTON, TO THOMAS SANDFORD (1471).

Theys indentyer bers wyttenes y^{t} Wylham of Zate ye son of John of Zate ayer to the place of ye ledzate is agreyd y^{t} Thomas of Sandforth and his son Wyllm schall

have reulle and governance and ye mañ rydyn of the sayd place doryng y^{r} both lyves, also thes berres wytnes at ye sayd Willyam schall let to farme and lawfully dystren for ye farme of ye tennantte of ye place of ye ledzatte what so ever he be. Also ye forsayd Thomas and Wyllyam schall trewly manttene and forteffy ye forsayd tenauntte as ye do any of y^{r} awn tennaunttes. Gyffyn and grantyd y^{s} yer of our Lord MCCCCLXXI.

VII.—De Brampton.

Brampton in Westmorland, which gave name to the family, was, for some reason which dates from before our records begin, not held separately under the barons of Westmorland, or Appleby as the barony was also called, but as part of a tenure which included Yanwath, Bolton and Dufton, and that by the family of Greystoke. There must have been some unrecorded mingling of inheritances by marriage to produce this. The Greystoke family held certain lands in other counties in chief, but these of Westmorland possibly first under de Mowbray, then under de Morville, then de Veteripont and then de Clifford; and the Brampton and other families held under them. We are dependent on the lost charters copied by Dodsworth, on the records of cases in Assize and on the Final Concords almost entirely for information about them. The recurrences of Christian names in the family, affording too little chance to separate the owners of the name with ease, make the work one that needs especial care. The only way to get clearness out of the confusion I have found was to work downwards in the generations and then retrace upwards carefully, getting limits as nearly as they could be got to the dates of the earlier charters by means of the names of those witnesses which are found elsewhere in documents to which dates, limits or periods could be fixed. It is impossible without giving transcripts of the charters, which cannot be done in days of expensive printing, to

show in detail the reasoning and its strength. I could only work so as to satisfy myself that my grounds were sure, and give here the result.

The first records that I get of the Brampton family are those of Final Concords in 10 John (1208). These show a partition in Brampton already begun. One is between Nigel de Morville and Richard de Touleston. It tells that Richard called upon William f. Ranulf (of Greystoke) to warrant him in possession of lands in Brampton. William f. Ranulf was therefore either the grantor or the heir of the grantor, and the case is stated to be a recognition of an ancestor's death ; the result being that Nigel de Morville quitclaimed to Richard de Touleston the right to 10 bovates and Richard consented that his men (*i.e.* his tenants) should do suit to the mill, and Nigel and his heirs should have reasonable multure (*i.e.* fees) for grinding done at the mill from Richard's land, namely, every 13th measure ground, for all time. Alexander de Brankeston, whose the mill was, was present and agreed. And William f. Ranulf granted to Nigel de Morville 3 acres and 3 roods in greater Stainton and also the toft which he owned "atte tuneshende" in Stainton, to hold of Fitz Ranulf for 1d. yearly. This must have been in compensation for something which Nigel had to give up, and would amount, I suppose, to something like the value of his real claim.

At the same court a second Final Concord was made between Nigel de Morville and Alexander de Branton, *i.e.* Alexander de Brankeston under his name of Brampton, about the mill. This, too, was a Mort d'Ancestor agreement, and, so being, it shows where the ancestral right came in. The mill was recognised as Alexander's right. And in return, Alexander conceded that Nigel de Morville and his heirs and all his "men" of Brampton and all the men of Richard de Touleston and his heirs of Brampton living there on the bovates which "remain"—that is to say which were entailed—to Richard should grind all

their corn, raised in Brampton, in the mill there and that Nigel and his heirs should have their reasonable multure dues therefrom, viz. every 13th measure for all time; repairs to mill-house and pond to be done by them as well as by Alexander's men and those others who owed suit to the mill. What hold Alexander had on Richard de Touleston is not stated, and of Richard one hears no more thereafter. But the transactions show that Alexander and Nigel were either inheritors by some marriage or that Alexander held by reason of some Morville grant.

Now one has, in Dodsworth, vol. LXX, a charter by which Walter de Morville grants to Margery, wife of Alexander de Brankeston, 5 acres of land of his demesne and the whole of his land in Dufton and his portion of Crockthornberthe and some land at Hologates and at Kirksic and Roger son of Orm and his "sequela," to hold of him for 1 pound of cumin at St. Lawrence. One of the witnesses is Ralf de Aincurt, who must have been, one would think, Ralf, son of Gervase, who died in 1250. Thomas son of Ranulf, a brother of William son of Ranulf of Greystoke—or was he Thomas son of William, son of Ranulf who died 1242?—was another. Another was Simon de Oreton, who occurs as witness in A.R. 979 against William de Greystoke in a claim about Bolton (1255). Alan de Warthecop was another who (A.R. 979) was dead in 1255. Thus the date of Walter de Morville's grant to Margery, wife of Alexander de Brankeston, would be something like 1240. Now Walter de Morville and his brother left no sons, as can be judged from these *Trans.* N.S. xii. p. 167. The Final Concords above do not admit of a marriage so late as that of a daughter of Walter de Morville and Alexander de Brankeston, and the residual conclusion is that Margery, who was married to Alexander, was sister to the grantor, Walter, and therefore daughter of Nigel, son of John de Morville, of c. 1176—1206, who was presumably a son of Simon de Morville, lord of Burgh (Cumberland) and Ishall till 1167.

In 1241 probably, in which year Gilbert de Kirketon was deputy-sheriff for the second time, Christiana daughter of Robert the monk, of Brampton, gave to Simon son of William de Brampton, clerk, all the land she inherited from her father, to be held by him for service paid to her. To this, William son of Alexander de Brampton was a witness as well as John de Morville, Adam son of Adam, 'sergeant' at the time to Thomas f. William de Graistok (Thomas f. William de Greystoke died 1247), and Thomas f. Alexander de Brampton, who died before 1255, and others. From the attestation of John de Morville—the second John—it looks as if 1241 were the right date. He died in 1287.

In 1255-6 (A.R. 979) Beatrix, widow of Thomas de Brampton, claimed in Assize against William de Ravenesby $\frac{1}{3}$ of a messuage and 15 acres of land in Brampton, and against Thomas de Aslakeby $\frac{1}{3}$ of 17 acres. William de Greystoke, custodian of the heir and the lands of Thomas de Bampton, called to warrant, stated that the heir of Thomas was of age and that he had no voice in the matter. However, Beatrice recovered her seisin. She also claimed against Walter de Canonesby $\frac{1}{3}$ of a messuage and 15 acres of land, and against Simon son of William, $\frac{1}{3}$ of nine acres, against Robert Bowett $\frac{1}{3}$ of 2 acres, against Thomas son of Thomas de Musgrave $\frac{1}{3}$ of 15 acres, against William le Surreis $\frac{1}{3}$ of nine acres, as her dowry. Thomas and William called to warrant William son of Thomas de Brampton, but the others opposed William, though the Roll does not say why. However, this tells us that William son of Thomas was in possession of his patrimony, and in 1257 an agreement was made between him and Walter de Meburn, clerk, by which Walter granted to William 8 bovates which William held by demise of G. de Brampton, probably Gervase mentioned below. William was in default for some unstated reason in 1277-8 (A.R. 980).

The above-mentioned Thomas de Aslakby gave to his

daughter his tenements in Brampton which he held by concession of Thomas son of Alexander, his land above Harmaldineflatt, Pulwath and his land between Pulewath and the boundary of Kirkbythore, for a rent of 8s. To this grant Simon son of William, "clerk," de Branton, Robert Bowett and Gervase, among others, were witnesses. Robert Bowett gave to his son Gervase and his heirs 4½ acres in Brampton, and Simon de Brampton was one witness. Robert, son of Gervase called Gervase de Brampton, granted and confirmed to Mr. William de Brampton, son of Simon de Brampton, "the younger," and Alice, his widow, quitclaimed to William de Brampton "the younger" all her right in this—the capital messuage of Brampton—and land adjoining which were once her husband's, Robert son of Gervase. But Gervase left another son apparently also named Gervase, against whom, together with Robert and Idonea le Engleys and others, John de Helton and Agnes, his wife, claimed the payment of a skep of oats, about which I have given particulars in the Sandford history; but it appears from the account given by the jury that Mr. William de Brampton at that time, viz., 1300-2, held either 6 or 7 of the bovates from which the payment was to come. John de Helton also applied against him in the same Assize for 20 acres of common pasture. And the jury said that the lordship of Brampton was once the right of Thomas, lord of Brampton, who held the 20 acres "in separali," *i.e.* separated from the land round, probably by enclosure: John de Helton and Agnes had acquired a moiety of the lordship of the township, and John, by himself, 6 bovates of the land of Thomas Freeman. The tenants had had common of pasture notwithstanding the separate land about which the dispute was, and Thomas Freeman was one who exercised the right; but Mr. William, after he acquired a moiety of the lordship, blocked them out. Mr. William answers that John is making an overlapping, that is, a double claim.

The case was adjourned and I have found no record of it later.

John de Helton and Agnes also claimed in this Assize against Mr. William, son of Simon de Brampton, a moiety of the mill in Brampton, and the conclusion is not recorded. How William son of Simon, came to have this is shown by a charter which Dodsworth gives, a grant by Richard son of Richard son of Thomas, once lord of Brampton,—a way of putting his position which tends to show that though he was lord of Brampton his father was not. It would seem that William son of Thomas de Brampton had left no issue and that Richard's father was the next brother and heir. Richard son of Richard granted to Mr. William son of Symon de Brampton his capital messuage and another with its garden and le Hallebank del Hallewatergate and the mill, to hold of the chief lords of the fee. No reason is adduced in the charter for the transaction, and we shall see that Richard had a son, John, so it must have been want of means for some reason which caused the transfer.

In 1302 (Hil. 30 Edw. I.) a final concord was come to between Mr. William son of Simon de Brampton and Richard son of Richard Ward, of Brampton, according to which two messuages, a mill, 60 acres of land, 7 of meadow, 20 acres of woodland, and 9s. and a pound of pepper as rent became the right of Mr. William, to be held of the chief lords of the fee. This looks like an arrangement to secure the grant above mentioned. Another grant to Mr. William son of Simon was made about 1300 by Thomas son of Peter de Thoresby and Cecilia, his wife, daughter of Peter de Brampton, a messuage and 4 bovates of land in Brampton. To this Henry de Cundale (c.1290—1340) is a witness. This, as a final concord shows, was in 1322. And Elena del Crokedayke, widow of Adam, granted to her nephew (*nepoti*) William de Brampton, 2 acres which she had in Brampton lying close by Kirkby-

thore (Adam was father of Alexander del Crokedayk who died 1309); and Walter de Wessington quitclaimed to William son of Simon de Brampton all tenements which William held of him for life—they belonged to his grandfather, John de Morville. This was in 1314 or 1323, when Henry de Warthecop was deputy sheriff.

Then in 1334 (8 Edw. III.) a Final Concord between Mr. William de Brampton and John de Castro Bernard, deforciant, gives to William tenements for life which he, for interim purposes, had granted to John: namely, 4 messuages, 16 acres of land, 16 acres of meadow and 4s. rent in Dufton and Sandford, ¼ of the manor of Melkanthorp, and the manor of Brampton, except 3 messuages and 4 bovates of land. After William's death these were to remain to Nicholas son of Roger de Layburn and Joan, his wife, and the heirs of Joan; remainder to John son of Richard de Brampton (the right heir of Brampton); remainder after him, if he died without issue, to John son of John de Crofton; remainder last of all to Mr. William's right heirs. Another Final Concord of the same date is one between Mr. William de Brampton and Margaret de Colleby, petitioners, and John de Casto Bernard, deforciant, the same interim feoffee put in by Mr. William de Brampton. By this 11 messuages, 1 carucate of land, 13 bovates and 15 acres of land and 15 acres of meadow and 13¼d. rents in Colby, Bolton, Knocksalcock, Merton and Asby were transferred to William and Margaret for the life of each. After the deaths of both, to remain to Nicholas son of Roger de Layburn and Joan, his wife, the same remainders as before. Thus, in both cases, the first remainder was to the right Brampton heir. In the *Inq. p. mortem* of Ralf, son of William (de Greystoke), 18 Feb., 10 Edwd. II. (1317), it is stated that land in Brampton was held by Mr. William de Brampton under him as of the manor of Dufton, and that the service due was 1lb. of pepper, suit of court and 4s. 4d. cornage paid at Appleby.

In 1346 (A.R. 1435), a question before the Assize was whether William son of William, son of Henry de Brampton, Richard son of Robert de Brampton, Henry son of Simon de Brampton and others, and Mr. William de Brampton had unjustly disseised Alexander Freeman de Brampton of 2 messuages, 23 acres of land and 1 acre of meadow in Brampton. Mr. William de Cundale was attorney for Mr. William, and stated that William de Brampton (chaplain) was seised of 2 portions of this and of the reversion of the third, which Christiana, widow of Thomas Freeman holds, and that Mr. William gave these to Mr. William de Cundal and Thomas de Sandford, chaplain, under the name of 1 messuage and 2 parts of a messuage and 2 bovates and 2 parts of 1 bovate and the reversion. Against this Alexander Freeman had nothing to say. There was also the question whether Mr. William de Brampton and Nicholas de Layburn and others had disseised John son of William de Helton of 4 messuages, 80 acres of land and 6 acres of meadow, of which Thomas de Appleby was holding 3 messuages and 40 acres of land and 4 acres of meadow, and Mr. William the remainder. The reply was that John de Helton, grandfather of John, was seised in demesne of this, had two sons, gave it to the younger, married again and had two sons and a daughter, and the heir left no heir. But there the information stops. The tenement, however, was in the hands of Mr. William de Brampton.

Information about the Brampton family fails thereafter, except that in Mr. Dayrell Crackanthorpe's Newbiggin deeds is one which gives an agreement between Thomas son of Roger de Layburn and Robert de Dokwray of Kirkby Kendal on one part, and Margaret, daughter and heir of Nicholas de Layburn, on the other, granting to Margaret an annual rent of 20 marks, to be taken by her and her heirs from the lands in Westmorland which were Roger de Layburne's. This is evidently for Margaret's

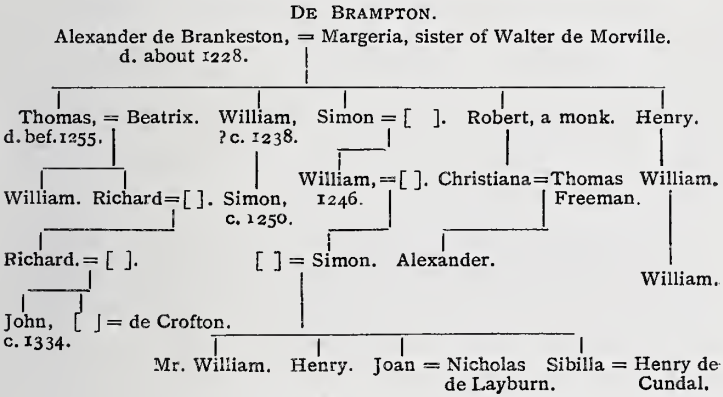
marriage portion, but to whom she was married there is no hint, only one sees that there was no male heir of the Layburn-Brampton marriage. This agreement is dated 24 July, 1 Ric. II. (1377).

That Mr. William de Brampton had amassed a fortune is also shown by Bp. Halton's Registers, transcribed by W. N. Thompson. In March, 1294, he leased Croglin church for 5 years, making sundry payments out and providing for the duty. In 1296 he was presented to Asby, instituted to the rectory, 1297, being at the time sub-deacon; was granted the custody of Long Marton rectory and of John de Medburn, a minor who was admitted thereto—this meant emoluments—in 1302. In 1306 he gave a title for orders of the worth of 5 marks to Robert de Asby, gave a title of the same value to Thomas Cournour of Appleby in 1307, and one also (of the same stipendial value) to Gilbert de Asby in 1309, gave a title also to William f. Robert "cementarius" of Kirkby Thore, of the same value, in 1310, a title to John de Louther in 1310, one to William de Askby in 1312 and to William Kemp of Appleby at the same time. Some of these titles were repeated up to 1315, which makes it look as if he held several benefices and did the duty by deputy. So far I have found no record that he was more than sub-deacon. What his relationship to Margaret de Colleby was is unexplained, as is also her relation to the Margaret de Colby of 1369, who comes in the "Appendix to the Feoffees of the Cliffords" (p. 331). A Henry, son of Simon de Brampton, may have been his brother, but the name Simon is given to others of the branches of the Brampton family, possibly a reminiscence of Simon de Morville, and the name William is frequent. Joan, who was married to Nicholas son of Roger de Layburn, seems to have been his sister, and Sibilla, who was married to Henry de Cundale, was another sister. The wife of John de Crofton, to judge

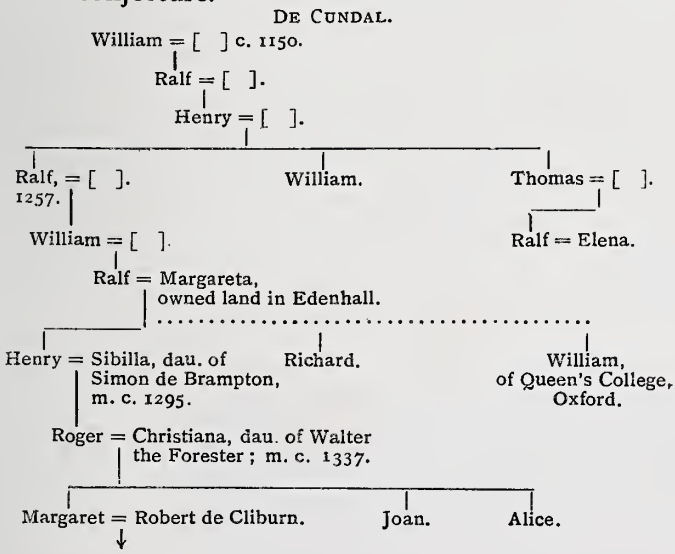
from the arrangement made, would appear to be a sister of the real heir, John de Brampton.

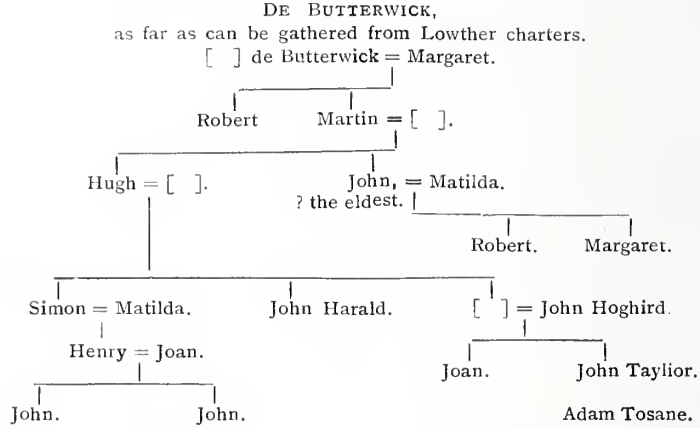
These particulars give some sort of reason for the unusually copious arrangements about the marriage of Henry de Cundale and Sibilla de Brampton, which strike one as an eagerly sought alliance.

So far as I can make out the pedigree it seems to be this :



Others occur to which I cannot give the right place, even in conjecture.





The author's thanks are due to the Rt. Hon. the Earl of Lonsdale and to the agents at Lowther Castle for permission to use documents hitherto unpublished and for kind assistance in his researches.

Art. XXV.—*Appendix to "The Feoffees of the Cliffords."**

By the Rev. Frederick W. Ragg, M.A., F.R. Hist. Soc.

In Dodsworth's MSS. vol. 83, fol. 86, which MSS. I was able to see something more of in August, 1921, I found what was evidently a copy of the return given in the printed indexes of Inquisitions in the original volume issued by the Record Commissioners and reputed to be of the reign of Rich. II., 1397-8. The original is lost. There are some variations in the names between the Record Office index list and those in Dodsworth, but quite sufficient of them are alike to show the identity of the actual returns. The date given in Dodsworth's copy, the original of which also would seem to be lost, is 43 Edw. III., 1369. A return of that date throws light on the long gap between 1362 and 1388 where light was much needed, because between 1314 and 1388 there is hardly a record but the *Inq. p. mortem* of Isabel Clifford of 1362 to tell us anything. And her *Inq. p. mortem* contains particulars of her dowry only and many holdings are of course omitted as not thereto belonging. The copy once in the Record Office cannot have been corrected and drawn up to date, as will be seen later on. Dodsworth's copy is in Latin, but for general convenience and saving of space it may be better to give translation only. I keep to Dodsworth's order.

He says the return is a fair parchment roll containing this :—

Indenture of Inquisition taken *ex officio* before Thomas Musgrave, eschaetor of the lord king in the county of Westmorland, at "Apelby" in that county on Thursday, the festival of the Inven-

* Supplementary to the Article in these *Transactions*, N.S. viii.

tion of the Cross, in the year of the reign of Edward III. the 43rd, by the oaths of Thomas de Strikland, Hugh de Louther, knights; Hugh de Wharton, Roland de 'Thorneburght,' William de Crakanthorp, Symon de Culwen, John Dawney, Hugh de Salkeld, William de Warthcop, Mathew de Redemane, Robert de Ormesheved and Henry de Threlkeld, jurators, who say on their oath that Bertin de Johnby and Robert de Wallibus held the manor of Mylnburn in demesne of a certain Patrick, earl of Dunbar, etc. which said Patrick held the said manor of Robert de Clifford etc:* And besides (they say) that the said earl was forfeited for opposing the lord King Edward, grandfather of the present King, etc.*

They say also that Alice, wife of John Barbour of Wyneston, held the moiety of one tenement in Westwod for homage (*i.e.* cornage) of the fief of William de Coucy, etc.,* and that Thomas Gernet and Alice his wife, daughter and heir of the aforesaid Alice, entered on to the tenement by licence of the lord king.

Rukeby—Roger Laton, kt., holds the manor of Roukeby of Roger de Clyfford by homage, etc.

Hertley—Peter de Morland and John Cabergh, chaplains, hold the manor of Hertley.

Nateby—The same Peter and John and Ralf hold the manor of Nateby of the said Roger.

Wateby—Robert Parvyng and Elena de Huthwayt and William de Thwayte hold the manor of Wateby.

Crosseby—Peter de Morland and John de Kabergh and the prior of Watton hold the manor of Crosseby.

Suleby—The same Peter and John, and Thomas Musgrave hold the manor of Souleby.

Smerdale—The same Peter and John hold the manor of Smerdale.

Musgrave parva—The same Peter and John hold the manor of Little Musgrave.

Kabergh—Roger de Fulthorp holds the manor of Kabergh.

Helbek—John de Appelby and John de Fermory, chaplains, hold the manor of Helbek.

Musgrave magna—Peter de Morland and John de Cabergh hold the manor of Great Musgrave

Wathcopp—William de Thwayts holds the manor of Warthcopp.

Rybbysland—William L'englys holds Rybbysland in Appelby.

Kirkbergh—The same William holds Kirkbergh.

Helton—William L'englys, John de Appelby and Adam Bacon hold the manor of Helton [Bacon].

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* The "etc." in these cases are Dodsworth's.

Crakanthorp—John Mauchell holds the manor of Crakanthorp.
Knok—John de Rokeby holds the manor of Knok.
Merton—The heirs of Thomas de Wake hold the manor of Merton.
Sandford—Thomas Sandford holds the manor of Sandford.
Burton—William de Helton holds the hamlet of Burton.
Dufton—The baron of Graistok holds the manor of Dufton.
Kirkbythore—John de Kirkbythore holds the manor of Kirkbythore.
Newbigging—William de Crakanthorp holds the manor of Newbigging.
Milneburne—John de Weshyngton holds the manor of Milneburne.
Moreton—Peter de Moreland and John de Cabergh, chaplains, hold the manor of Murton.
Winandrewath—Margaret de Moresby holds the manor of Wyndandrewath.
Brugham—William de Crakanthorp and John Tyndale and John Trotter hold the manor of Brugham.
Louthre—Margaret de Louthre holds the manor of Louthre.
Clifton—Thomas de Louthre and John Marton, chaplains, hold the manor of Clifton.
Ascome—Robert de Swynburn, kt., holds the manor of Ascome.
Gnyp—Gilbert de Culwen holds the manor of Gnyp.
Bampton Cundale—The Abbot of Hepp and Gilbert Culwen and Robert de Clibburn hold the manor of Bampton Cundale.
Helton Fletchen—Edmund de Sandford holds a manor in Helton Fletchen.
Hepp—The Abbot of Hep holds the manor of Hepp.
Cliburn—Robert de Clibburn holds the manor of Clibburn.
Cliburn Taileboys—Walter Teilboys holds the manor of Clibburn Tailboys.
Crosseby Ravenswath—Ralf de Hastings holds the manor of Crosseby Ravenswath.
Colby—Margaret de Colby holds the manor of Colby.
Hoffe, Drybek—William de Dacre holds the manors of Hoffe and Drybek.
Ormesheved—John de Derwentwater holds the manor of Ormesheved.
Askeby Wynandrewath—Cristofer de Moresby holds the manor of Askeby Wynandreswath.
Askeby Cotesforth—John de Cottesforth holds the manor of Asby Cotesforth.
Askeby parva—Robert Lenglys holds the manor of Little Askeby.
Overton Dacre—John de Dacre holds the manor of Overton Dacre.
Meuburn—Richard Vernun holds the manor of Meuburn.

On the back of the aforesaid Roll is :—

In the year of our Lord 1314 on the vigil of St. John Baptist, which then was Sunday on the morrow, a battle took place between the king of England and the king of Scotland, in which battle the earl of Gloucester and Robert de Clyfford and many other nobles were slain and the earl of Hertford and the earl of Perdon* and Sir John de Fercuis † and many others of high station were taken prisoners, so that the king of Scotland, namely Sir Robert Brues, prevailed in the battle, and the king of England, the said Edward, having lost, with part alone (of his army) only just escaped. This Robert de Clyford conveyed to us the church of Warthcopp in 1306, and he was son of Roger de Clyford the younger, a founder of this monastery, and had the reputation of a good man.

Warcop had been given to Shap Abbey. This appears from the purchase of the Warcop tithes by Richard Musgrave, recorded in Pat. Roll 3 Edw. VI, pt. 2, m. 25 (1549) as having belonged to Shap. It would seem from the endorsement that the Feodary Roll was a copy belonging to Shap. But if so why should that monastery or any of its monks have called Roger de Clifford the younger a founder? Probably he was a great benefactor and we might take the expression in that sense.

The endorsement above gives a short statement of the result of the battle of Bannockburn fought on the nativity of St. John Baptist 1314. But the statement is somewhat confused and was evidently not all legible in Dodsworth's time. "Perdon" is not recognizable as the title of any earldom and Dodsworth shows that he doubted the name. The Earl of Gloucester who was killed was de Clare. The Earl of Hertford was Ralf de Monthermer, who had also been Earl of Gloucester till 1307, when his wife, Joan of Acre, daughter of Edward I., died. "Sir John de Fercuis"‡ looks like a muddle which puzzled Dodsworth. The name which comes nearest, and which I have seen

* Written in pencil in Dodsworth as if doubtful.

† This name has been altered and the reading is doubtful.

‡ Probably the u was a misreading for a misplaced n.

muddled in the same sort of way, is le Franceys. But though there was a John le Franceys of Cliburn who might very well have been at Bannockburn, he was not a knight. Both of these doubtful names probably belong to local families known by name to the monks who had the roll. Of the feoffees who are mentioned in it, a rather large proportion were interim feoffees.

Tabulating the list of feoffees according to the inheritances gives the following results. The chief differences in names between the two lists, the Record Office list and Dodsworth, are marked in notes.

Actual inheritance.	*Place-name.*	*Possessor at the time.*
	Rokeby	Roger * Laton
Musgrave	Hertley	Peter de Morland and John Cabergh, chaplains
Hastings	Nateby	Peter de Morland and Ralf † [Hastings?]
Dacre	Wateby	Robert Parvyng, Elena de Huthwayt and Willm. de Thwayte
Musgrave	Crosby [Garret]	Peter de Morland, John de Cabergh and the prior of Watton
Musgrave, Strickland and Wharton	Souleby	Peter de Morland, John de Cabergh and Thomas de Musgrave
Sandford and Wateby	Smerdale	Peter de Morland and John de Cabergh
Musgrave	Little Musgrave	Peter de Morland and John de Cabergh
Fulthorp	Cabergh	Roger de Fulthorp
Blenkinsop and Lengleys	Helbeck	John de Apelby and John de Fermory
Musgrave	Great Musgrave	Peter de Morland and John de Cabergh
Warcop, Morville and Bowet	Warthcop	William de Thwayte

* Robert, Record Office Index.

† Peter, John and Robert Hastings, R.O. Index.

Actual inheritance.	*Place-name.*	*Possessor at the time.*
Lengleys	Ribbysland	William Lengleys
Lengleys (? Tailboys)	Kirkbergh (Appleby)	William Lengleys
Heirs of Ellerton and Bacon	Helton Bacon or sub-le-Lyth	William Lengleys, John de Appleby and Adam Bacon
Mauchell	Crackanthorp	John Mauchell
Boyvile	Knock (Salcock)	John de Rokeby
	Merton (Murton)	heirs of Tho. de Wake
Sandford	Sandford	Thomas Sandford
Helton	Burton	William de Helton
Graystoke	Dufton	Baron of Graistok
Kirkbythore	Kirkbythore	John de Kirkbythore
Crackanthorpe	Newbigging	William de Crakanthorp
Earl Patrick	Milnburne	John de Weshington *
Musgrave	Moreton	Peter de Morland and John de Cabergh
[Askeby]	Winanderwath	Margaret de Moresby
Godebird, Crackanthorpe and Riddings	Brougham	William de Crakanthorp, John Tyndale and John Trotter
Lowther	Louthre	Margaret de Louthre
Engayne	Clifton	Tho. de Louthre and John Marton, chaplains
Swinburn	Ascome (Askham)	Robert de Swynburn
Culwen and Cundal	Gnyp	Gilbert de Culwen
Culwen, Cundal, Cliburn	Bampton (Cundale)	Abbot of Hepp, Gilbert Culwen and Robert Clibburn
Lengleys and other heirs of Morville	Helton Fletchen	Edmund de Sandford
	Hepp	Abbot of Hepp
Heirs of de Theile	Cliburn (Hervey)	Robert de Clibburn
Tailboys	Cliburn Tailboys	Walter Teilboys
Hastings	Crosby Ravenswath	Ralf de Hastings †
Colby	Colby	Margaret de Colby

* Johnby and Ric. de Vallibus, R.O. Index. John de Weshington was probably life tenant or interim feoffee, one of those of the name connected with Helton Flechan, but which I cannot say.

† Rich.' de Hastings, R.O. Index.

Actual inheritance.	*Place-name.*	*Possessor at the time.*
Heirs of Thomas de Multon	Hoff and Dribeck	William de Dacre
Derwentwater	Ormeshead (Vesci)	John de Derwentwatre
Moresby	Asby Wynanderwath	Cristofer de Moresby
Cotesford	Asby Cottesford	John de Cotesforth
Lengleys	Little Asby	Robert Lengleys
Dacre	Overton Dacre (Orton)	John de Dacre
(le Franceys) Vernon	Meaburn	Richard Vernon

Seven fiefs are held by Peter de Morland and John de Cabergh, chaplains, one of these with a Musgrave added. Of these seven, five are Musgrave inheritances and one is an inheritance, divided Sandford and Waitby, of which each family had a moiety. There are other divided manors in the list. The holders of the above seven are interim feoffees. One fief besides is held by Peter de Morland and a Ralf whose name Dodsworth does not give. This is a Hastings inheritance and another Hastings inheritance has the owner's name, Ralf de Hastings; possibly the lost name should be Hastings, but it would not follow that the two Ralfs de Hastings were the same man. In the case of interi feoffees that might be the case or it might not. The interim feoffee might be a relative with the same Christian name. Other fiefs seem to show themselves as held by interim feoffees. Helbeck, an already divided inheritance which should be held by a Blenkinsop and a Lengleys (of the Highhead branch), is held by John de Apelby and John de Fermory; these must also have been interim feoffees. Waitby, which was in reality a Dacre fief, shows Robert Parvying, Elena de Huthwayt and William de Thwayte. This had been granted or, perhaps, sold to Robert Parvyng who had been interim feoffee, through whom Ranulf de Dacre and his wife purchased the manor of Barton and a great part of Barton from John de Lancaster and Annora, into which they were not to enter till Annora's death. Waitby was

afterwards sold or granted to William Strickland, who became Bishop of Carlisle and handed it down to his daughter, wife of John de Derwentwater and afterwards of Robert de Lowther. In Waitby I do not take it that Robert Parvyng was with the two others interim feoffee, but that the co-feoffees were some relatives of his with whom he was sharing the fief. The Lengleys who held Ribbysland and Kirkbergh was William Lengleys of the Highhead branch. He must have been William, son of William Lengleys and Isabel Crokdayk—see "Lengleys," these *Trans.* N.S. XX. where, in not a few copies, the lead line has touched the ink and confused the pedigree, most unfortunately. This second William Lengleys died in 1369—the year of the return—and left no male heir,* which of itself settles the latest date of this return. But this is corroborated by another item, though Hugh de Lowther was on the *Inq.* as one of the Jury. Margaret de Lowthre is given as feoffee of Lowther. This was Margaret de Whale who was enfeoffed till her death after her husband's death. Her *Inq. p. mortem* shows that she died in 1369. The Hugh on the Jury was therefore her son. The history of Merton (Murton) I have not so far been able to track out.

Besides the foregoing, in the same volume of Dodsworth (83), beginning with folio 83, is a partial copy of the Feodary which I found in vol. 40 of Agarde's Indexes in the Public Record Office, and published in these *Trans.* N.S., viii. Agarde's copy, as I showed there, contains corrections reaching to about 1482 A.D., but has many errors in it. Dodsworth's copy gives the date 31 Henry VI. (1452). The particulars were drawn up by the same auditor, John Wherton, and the order is, of course, the same. I give an extract from Dodsworth's introduction of it in his own words, because of its especial interest; but the names of the feoffees and the particulars concerning them in

* See "The Development of Inglewood," by Parker, these *Trans.* N.S. ix.

translation for general convenience. Dodsworth is speaking of the muniment room in the Tower of Craven. He says: "In certayne rolles bound up together in a bundell culled out of many decayed..." were [deputy sheriff's accounts apparently and Inquisitions *p. mortem*], an auditor's book of Westmorland, 35 Henry VIII...an old coucher of evidences and tenures and the "petegre" following:—

"Le pee de greue* heredum Roberti de Veteriponte quondam domini de Westmorland, ffait a remembere le pee de greue del heirs Roberti de Vepont jadys seigneur de Westmerland tanqz a le temps le roy E[douard] tiers l'an XL [1366] q Roger de Clifford q'oie est tient."

Then follows the pedigree carried down still further to Thomas de Clifford, son and heir of John de Clifford. And then the Feodary at the end. This copy of Dodsworth's gives the actual date of the original return as 10 Edward I., *i.e.* 1282. In "The Feoffees of the Cliffords" I reasoned out the date, which was not supplied in Agarde's copy, as 1283 as nearly as I could suggest, and am glad to find that I was no further out.

The Feodary List is:—

	10 EDWARD I (1282).	31 HEN. VI. (1452).
Helbek	Thomas de Helbek	William Blenkansopp
Ascom	the same Thomas de Helbeck	Robert Sandford
Cabergh	Alan de Cabergh	Thomas Fulthorp
Hertcla and Munlangton	Michael Hertcla	Thomas Musgrave and Tho. Ld. Clifford
Gt Musgrave	Thomas Musgrave	Richard Musgrave
Moreton	the same Thomas Musgrave	Richard Musgrave
Suleby	Thomas Musgrave except the tenements once Tho. Bowet's	Hugh Louther; and the tenements once Richard Sandford's, Tho. Wharton and Richard

* This mediaeval form of the word *pedigree*, with the meaning of the word "Crane's foot" so transparent in it, is very delightful. And it was evidently thought necessary to have the descent of the Cliffords from the Veteriponts and their right to the inheritance kept recorded.

	10 Edw. I.	31 Hen. VI.
		Musgrave, each a portion
(1) Warcopp and (2) moiety of Waitby Agnes	Richard Warcopp	(1) George Nevyll, lord Latymer (2) Thomas Beauchamp
Overton & moiety of Wateby	Ranulf de Dacre	William Louther
(1) Crosseby Gerard, (2) moiety of Overton and (3) Little Musgrave, 1 car. in Apelby	Robert de Suleby	(1) Richard Musgrave 3pts. Prior of Watton 1pt. (2) John de Laton of Saxhowe in Clyveland (3) Richard Musgrave
Sandford and	Richard de Sandford*	Thomas Warcop, vicar

* In the Rolls of Parliament, vol. iii, 564, of 6 Henry VI. (1404) is a petition, for a copy of which I have to thank Major Sandford Thompson, from Robert de Layburn kt., setting forth that he was guardian in Westmorland of Margaret, one of the daughters and heirs of Robert de Sandford and heir apparent of Margaret, the petitioner's wife; and that Roland de Thornburgh, son of William, at the instigation of Thomas de Warcop of Lambersete, sheriff of Westmorland (he was deputy-sheriff from Nov. 1, 1403 to Oct. 1406) took away forcibly the said Margaret de Sandford, aged 9, had her in restraint and married her to Thomas Warcopp, aged 18, son of the said sheriff Thomas Warcopp, and by no process in the common law could he obtain redress, and that threats concerning life and limb were made against any of her relatives who interfered. Hence his petition.

The parties were ordered to present themselves in London and submit to the judgment of William Gascoigne, chief justice. Evidently his judgment was against the aggressors, as we should expect from him. For we find Margaret married to Cristofer Bardsey in 1422. But Katrina, the elder sister and coheir, was married to a Thomas Warcop, then vicar of Kirkby Stephen, and through her mother was heiress of Colby, for their son Thomas Warcop of Colby, son of Thomas and Katrina, is given in 1482 as owning this moiety of Sandford. The contemporaries named Thomas Warcopp it takes some trouble to unmix. Thomas, vicar of Kirkby Stephen, died (*Inq. of Knights' Fees*, 31 Hen. VI.) that year; his wife was already dead. Thomas, son of William Warcopp and Margaret, his wife, held in 4 Hen. IV. (1403) the manor of Colby, her right. Margaret must have been the widow of Robert Sandford; she was afterwards married to Robert de Layburn, who thus became step-father to Katrina, married to Thomas Warcopp, vicar of Kirkby Stephen. Thomas Warcopp the vicar is the only one who could be called Thomas Warcopp of Sandford who held Cliburn Hervey (as interim feoffee) in 1424.

Thomas Warcop, the sheriff, of Lambertsete, belonged to the Smardale branch, as we see from *Inq.* 31 Hen. VI., and we can trace this branch a little back. In 1388, Thomas, son of John Warcopp, held Smardale of the right of Katrina his wife. She is not mentioned as at the time holding with him. She was therefore dead, and he and she had issue. But he appears in that year as holding, together with Margaret de Clibborn (widow of Robert), the manor of Cliburn Hervey (her right) and so continued till after 1392. Thomas of Lam-

	10 Edward I.	31 Henry VI.
Burton		of Kirkby Stephen, and Katherine his wife, Christopher Bardesey (and Margaret his wife)
Helton Bacon	Thomas Ellerton and Robert Bacon	Richard Restwald and Thomas Hiiton
Great Askby, Wynanderwath, Wynton (1 car.)	Robert Askeby	Cristofer Moresby, son and heir of Cristofer Moresby
Askeby (Cottesford)	Peter Cottesford	John Cottesford
Little Askeby	Robert Engles	*Thomas de la More in right of his wife lately wife of William Sandford elder brother of Robert Sandford. This vill she had in jointure with the aforesaid William, her husband. Reversion to Robert Sandford

bertsete, the sheriff, would probably be the son of this Thomas, son of John. But for some unknown reason Smardale is not given as in his possession between that year and the time of Henry VI. Then a Thomas of Lambertsete comes in (1452-3), possibly the one who was sheriff, followed that year by Reginald who died in 1492. If it was not he, it was his son, the boy of 18 who was married to the girl of 9.

In "the Feoffees of the Cliffords," on p. 308 in the first column [Robert de Sandford] which I had some trouble to decipher, should have been "heirs of Robert de Sandford."

* From this entry I feel sure that I was misled by the 18th century endorsement on the charter attached to Idonea Sandford's second will (these *Trans.* N.S. xxi, p. 205). Robert Sandford is here evidently spoken of as alive and younger brother of William, and he is given in this list of 1452 as in possession of Askham and of (a moiety of) Helton Flechan. The point is made clear by a charter at Lowther in which Matildes, formerly wife of William de Sandford, hands over her estate in the manor of Little Asby to Henry de Percy, Earl of Northumberland, Ralf de Nevill, Earl of Westmorland, Thomas de Daker, lord of Gillesland, Hugh de Louther, Richard de Restwald, William de Louther, Robert Ellergill, rector of Ousby, Thomas Bampton, chaplain, and Alexander de Blenkansop. The witnesses are Richard de Musgrave, kt., Henry de Wherton, sheriff, William de Blenkensopp, John de Crakanthorp, John Mauchel, Richard de Colby, rector of Gt. Ormeshead "and others." The date appears to be 23 July, 7 Henry V. (1419), but is a little uncertain. This charter was probably drawn up previously to her second marriage with Thomas de la More. In the Sandford pedigree, therefore, the husband of Elizabeth Thornburgh should be Robert, son (not grandson), of Idonea Sandford, and alterations in the text on p. 182 made accordingly. William, the eldest son, left no heir.

	10 Edward I.	31 Henry VI.
Crosby Ravenswath and Nateby	Nicholas Hastings	Edward Hastings kt., and Lancelot Thirkeld holds Crosby of him, and Tho. Wharton holds Nateby
Shapp and Rosgill	Gilbert, son of Patrick	The Abbot of Shapp (in part)
Bampton and Knypp (Patrick)	Gilbert, son of Patrick	Thomas Curwen, kt.
Bampton and Knypp (Cundal)	Ralf Cundale	Roland Cliburn
Helton (Flechan or Flechten)	Robert Morville	Robert Sandford. Elizabeth, wife of John Burwerth, lately enfeoffed conjointly with William Tempeste formerly her husband [moieties]*
Clifton	Henry Engayn	William Wybergh

* "Moieties" is not denoted in Dodsworth, who is here not too clear. But the moiety of Helton which did not descend to the Sandfords has an interesting history. Walter de Wessington, kt., grandson of John de Morville, granted and confirmed his manor of Helton Flecan and all his land in Brampton to William de Wessington his son and his heirs: William to give one rose at the feast of St. John Bapt. and to hold of the chief lords of the fee (Dodsworth's MSS.); should he die without heirs, remainder was to be to Walter's brothers William and John in succession: reversion to Walter's right heirs (*F. of F.* Edw. III., 1357 A.D.). William and his wife Katherine had a daughter Alianora, who was married to William Tempest of Studley, Yorks. [see E. Blanche Tempest in *The Northern Genealogist*, part I, p. 5, Jan. 1895]. William Tempest and Alianora had the son William (above) who married Elizabeth Moungomery (married afterwards to John Burwerth). Their one son, John Tempest, died young and his aunts then became coheirs, namely Isabel Tempest and Dionysia Tempest. Isabel was married to Richard Norton and Dionysia to William Mallorie, who in right of their wives succeeded each to a moiety of this moiety of Helton 'Flechten.' From these descended Sir John Norton and Sir John Mallory who in the early 16th century held each one-fourth of the manor. In Oct. 1511, Sir John Louther gave to Sir John Mallory lands in Dent and Sedbergh in exchange for land in Helton Flecket. On 6 Feb., 1518, Sir John Norton and Sir John Mallory made Sir John Louther steward of their lands in Helton. On 18 March, 1523, a lease for 99 years was granted to Sir John Louther of the manor of Helton Flecket by the prior and convent of Mount Grace; apparently this was the Mallory portion. On March 18, 1523, a lease for 99 years of the manor of Helton was granted by the same convent to John Norton esqre. These look like legal interim arrangements for blocking possible claims. Then, on 1 March, 1526 Sir John Mallory granted his fourth of the manor of Helton in exchange for lands in Sedbergh to Sir John Louther,

	10 Edward I.	31 Hen. VI.
Burgham	Cristiana Burgham, Willm. Crakanthorp, Henry de Ridding	Margaret, widow of William Crakanthorp, as of her husband's right, and John Crakenthorp, son and heir of this William and Margaret. Thomas Burgham. ( ) widow of Henry Brede, lately of Scattermore (?) in Northumberland daughter and heiress of ( ) and his wife, daughter and heiress of ( ).
Yanwith, Bolton, Brampton, Dufton	William, son of Thomas	Lancelot Threlkeld, Nicholas Radcliffe, Thomas Lancaster, holders under the baron of Graystoke. Ralf, baron of Graistok, in his own hands
Knok Salcok	Robert Boyvill	William Howson of York in right of his wife lately enfeoffed in this manor jointly with John Rokeby her former husband.
Cliburn Tailbois, moiety of Cliburn	Richard Tailboys and afterwards Walter Tailboys	"It is supposed that Thomas Warcop holds this moiety." *

and, on 23 March, 1532 Sir John Norton leased his portion to Sir John Louther. Another step must have followed, namely, the grant or sale, if indeed the Dissolution did not come before Sir John Louther purchased this. But these transactions bring the history of Helton at one stroke into connection with two pieces of literature. The Norton family was that of Wordsworth's White Doe of Rylstone: and Sir Thomas Malory (of Mort d'Arture fame) belonged to High Studley, near Fountains [Leland and Hearne], which, since Studley came to them by descent from the Tempest family, is an evidence for clenching his connection with Helton and for assuring us of his true English descent. He was no Welshman, as suggested.

* This is not Dodsworth's supposition but that of the Auditor. The entry is confused. First it was written "Et nunc Ricus Ristwald tenet dictam medietatem," then a caret was inserted and a word just above "tenet" written which Dr. Madan reads as "armiger." Then "it is supposed that

	10 Edward I.	31 Hen. VI.
Cliburn Hervey, moiety of Cliburn	Walter 'Tiliol,' John Stafoll, Hugh Sowerby	Margaret, widow of John Cliburn, lately enfeoffed jointly with the said John, her husband. Reversion after the death of this Margaret to Roland Cliburn, son and heir apparent (spectanti) of this John and Margaret.
Kirkbergh	the said Richard Tayleboys	Richard Ristwald
Colby	Hugh de Beauchamp	Thomas Warcop, vicar of Kirkby Stephan, as the right of Margery, mother of Katherine, daughter of the said Thomas, her daughter and heiress.
Hoff and Dribek	Thomas de Moulton	Thomas Dacre of Gillesland
Ormeshevid Vescy	John Vescy, and he held the stirrup of his lord	Nicholas Radcliffe and Elizabeth, his wife; the right of Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of John Derwentwater. Of whom John Barton holds Ormesheved.
Newbigging	Robert Newbyggyng	John Crakanthorp
Milneburn	Earl Patrick	Robert Crakenthorp, the right of Elizabeth, his wife, one of the daughters and heirs of John Lancastre
Kirkbythore	Gilbert de Kirkbythore, 3 parts, Robert Berford, 1 part, and John Laton of Berford of him.	Robert Kirkeby, Ralf Pudsey, lord of Berford on Tees; and John Wharton of him.

Thomas Warcop holds this moiety" (in Latin) written. The Cliburn family had owned this manor under the Tailboys family. How John Cliburn, given in "the Feoffees of the Cliffords" in the later edition of this Feodary as owning it directly under the Cliffords, came into possession has to be conjectured.

	10 Edwd. I.	31 Hen. VI.
Crakanthorp*	John Mauchall	John Mauchel, son of William, son of John.
Appleby (1 carucate) called Rybbysland.	Eudo de Rybbys	Richard Restwald. The heirs of William Spencer formerly held 8 acres
Rokeby	Thomas Musgrave	John Skafe
Louthre William, Louthre John	John Coupland, Adam Haverington, Simon "Downds," the Prior of Watton	Hugh Lowther
Meuburn Mald and Whale	Richard le Franceys	William Vernon
Smerdale	Richard de Sandford, Theobald de Wateby	lately William Crakanthorpe and now Thomas de Warcopp of Lambertside.
Merton		John Gray and Margaret, his wife, as Margaret's right.

Then follows the *Alba firma*, in which Dodsworth's notes are fewer and with diminished particulars.

	10 Edw. I.	31 Henry VI.
Grange of Askby and Bretherdale	The Abbot of Byland	The Abbot of Byland
Melkanthorp	Margaret de Roos	Richard Musgrave, John Cottesford, Thomas Lancaster of Brampton
Warthcop	Willm. Morel, 2 car.	Robert Warcop
Souleby	Thomas Bouet	Thomas Louther, son of Robert Louther for life. Reversion to Hugh Louther.
Apelby		John, son of John Ormesheved
Milneburn	Bertin de Johnby and Robert de la Val	John Strete. Elizabeth widow of Robert Crakanthorp, as of the right of Elizabeth, one

* This is not in the position which it has in the Record Office copy.

	10 Edw. I.	31 Hen. VI. of the daughters and coheirs of John Lancaster.
Rokeby moiety	Henry de Apelby	John Scafe

I have long wanted the chance to set right my mistake on p. 263 of "The Feoffees of the Cliffords" made about the *valetti*. When I wrote the paper I was new to the Assize Rolls. More work at them soon made the meaning clear. The *valetti* were those who attained either by inheritance or marriage or by grant the position in possessions which was considered knighthood's rank, and therefore should be made knights in the recognised way. It was an honour which entailed duties and expenses—duties to their country through duties to its sovereign, and the expenses attendant on them. To shirk the duties and the expenses by not taking up the honour led to amercement. The ideal, the loftiness, the nobility of feudalism was this of duty. It ran through all its arrangements. Grants of honours were made for services done and services to come, from even the land granted to the under-tenant upwards, through the grades of knighthood, shrievalty, barony and earldom, up to the lord paramount—*primus inter pares*, the sovereign himself, who had his honours and his prerogative for the good of his realm; and in all these, honours were not for emoluments alone. There were duties expected of him to all below him, expected of all others to those above them and below them and around them, even down to the peasant, bound to the soil, whose position was at first the great defect of the system; but step by step this was gradually ameliorated till he became a freeman. Nothing of all this was empty form; sense of duty was woven in the entire fabric. It needs the understanding of this to make mediaeval life intelligible. It was this "noblesse oblige" which handed down to days not long since gone the public services unpaid of the magistracy,

amongst other things of public spirit, the position of officers of the Army and Navy and all the other proud duties in public business carried on. It was this which made the "gentlemen of England" the race they were, by no means faultless, though they might "live at home at ease," carrying all burdens and expenses of public business through. Hunting for mere popularity was developed, and with it inordinate and ruinous expenditure, in Welsh Tudor times, and payment for honours began in Stuart times with the creation of hereditary knighthoods as baronetcies to gain funds for lavish expenditure, and it has grown into what we see to-day.

One who is in years, who often wanders back to mediaeval times and feudal ideals, is apt to feel something more than regret at the loss he cannot but see of so much that was noble in the ideals of the despised Feudalism.

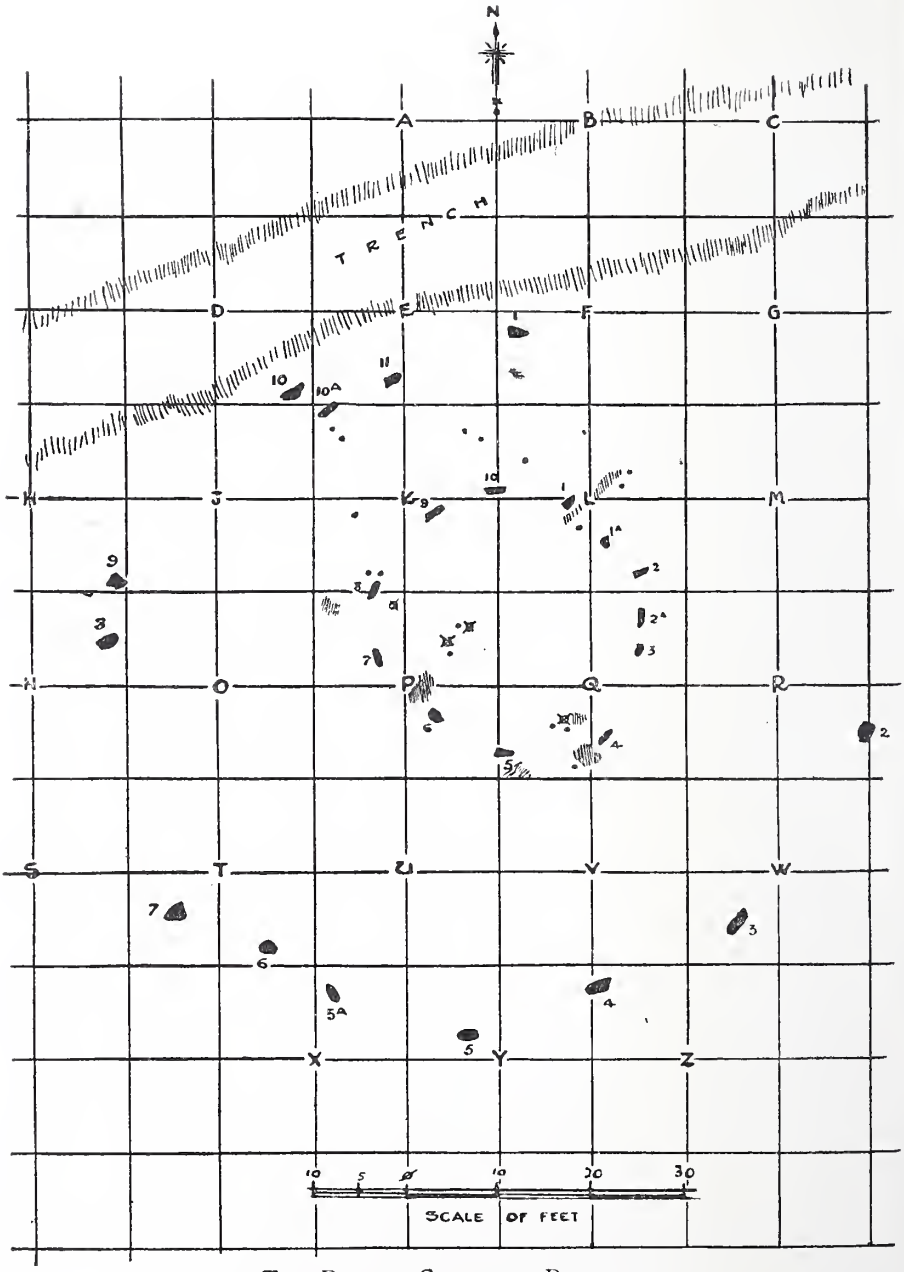
Art. XXVI.—*Report on the further excavations carried out at the "Druid's Circles," on Birkrigg in the parish of Urswick, September-October*, 1921.

By the Committee of the North Lonsdale Field Club.

THE remains known by the name of the Druid's Circle situated on Birkrigg, a limestone elevation in the eastern part of Low Furness, three miles south of Ulverston, have received but scant attention at the hands of writers of local history. Jopling, in his "Sketch of Furness and Cartmel" refers to them under the heading, "Remains on Birkrigg," (p. 103), and writes in 1843, "On that part of the common of Birkrigg which immediately overlooks the village of Bardsea there is a small Druidical circle, about twenty-four feet in diameter (inside dimensions), and at a distance of a few hundred yards the remains of a somewhat circular enclosure, the appropriation of which is doubtful."*

This so-called Druidical circle has acquired enhanced importance by the discovery in 1911 of the cinerary urn and other remains reported in these *Transactions*, N.S. xii, pp. 262-274. The ground within the inner circle of standing stones was, in that year, examined by members of the Archaeological Committee of the North Lonsdale Field Club. Since that date the operations of the Club on this site have been suspended, but in the summer of 1921 it was decided to examine, under the superintendence of Mr. W. G. Atkinson, the ground immediately outside the

* Other notices are :—C. M. Jopling, *Archaeologia*, xxxi, 450; Henry Barber, "Prehistoric Remains of Furness and Cartmel," *R. Arch. Inst.*, 1868; H. S. Cowper, F.S.A., *Archaeologia*, liii (p. 30 of the overprint) "Ancient Settlements etc. of Furness."



THE DOUBLE CIRCLE AT BIRKRIGG.

inner circle and eventually the whole area between the inner and outer circles. Work was begun somewhat late in the season, but the weather was, on the whole, favourable, and operations were rarely hindered by unfavourable conditions. Mr. J. Slater kindly made a large scale plan of the circles and divided up the ground to be excavated into squares, each of which on the plan was particularised by a letter and number, and the work was carried out square by square so as to facilitate the keeping of a correct record of excavating done and discoveries made. In the accompanying plan, the letters (A, B, etc.) mark the centres of the groups of four squares. The pointer at the head of the plan indicates the *magnetic* north.

Digging was begun in square L1, on the north side of the circle. The pavement of cobbles, mostly ice-borne, which characterised the inner circle, was here found at a depth of rather more than six inches below the present-day surface. The two standing stones, nos. 10 and 1, of the inner circle lie within this square, as will be seen from the plan ; and these stones, as well as all the others bounding the inner circle, were carefully measured for height above ground and depth below, and the measurements recorded in the detailed report made by the excavators. In this square, L1, the only object of interest unearthed was a piece of raddle or ruddle. " Raddle was a substance of which primitive man was very fond " (*Remains of the Prehistoric Age in England*, by B. C. A. Windle, p. 148). Bateman found it in a barrow (*Ten Years Digging*, p. 168), as did the late Canon Greenwell (*British Barrows*, p. 160). M. C. Burkitt in his *Prehistory, a Study of Early Cultures in Europe*, published 1921, suggests that raddle or red ochre was used for tattooing purposes (p. 207). The piece of raddle in question must have been brought to the circle from a distance, as none is known to exist in the near neighbourhood. It is found about half-way down the Screes at Wastwater and the procuration from that

source is very dangerous. Why early man should have preferred to procure raddle from a distance rather than use haematite, abundant in the neighbourhood, and which was undoubtedly used for the same purposes in prehistoric times, it is difficult to surmise, unless the raddle was calculated to produce a more pleasing result in the way of personal adornment.

From square L1 on the north side of the inner circle the work of excavation was continued by east, south and west to north again. In square L2 [in the ground between stones nos. 1 and 2 of the inner circle but outside its circumference] a deposit of black earth was found 15 inches from the surface and 10 inches in thickness, being really a continuation of the deposit described in the report of work in 1911 and marked on the plan which accompanies that report. The portion of this deposit examined in 1921 thinned out towards the north-east. On the outer fringe of this black earth (square L2), what was taken to be a circular stone knife or scraper was discovered, 18 inches below the surface, and within a foot of this a rude stone knife, $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches long with mid-rib in the centre of the upper side and tapering to each edge, the cutting edge being slightly serrated. Between stones nos. 1 and 2 of the inner circle, but not now showing above the surface, an extra standing stone (1^A square L4) of smaller dimensions was unearthed, limestone like all the stones of the inner circle, and with the same inward inclination or batter as those above ground. In making up the ground at the conclusion of the season's work the earth was so arranged that the top of this stone as well as of another discovered (no. 2^A) between stones 2 and 3 of the circle, (square Q2) should show above the turf for the benefit of future interested visitors to this site. Outside the circle, in the neighbourhood of stones 2 and 3, the pavement was much thinner and the cobbles forming it smaller than in the part previously examined, but this pavement became

again more pronounced as work was continued round towards the south. In square Q4 another patch of black earth a yard square was found between stones 4 and 5 and carefully examined. A piece of slate in the shape of a heart or an arrow-head was found here (square Q3). The pavement near this deposit of black earth was much thicker and more pronounced than elsewhere.

In taking off the turf from square Q3 it was noticed that the pavement below showed signs of having been previously disturbed, and afterwards, when digging, the paving stones here were found to be very loose. Another small patch of black earth, 22 inches in extent, was found in the west corner of square Q3. In square P4 was found a small heart-shaped stone which might be natural, and two small quartz-like pebbles, and in P1, and 5 feet west of stone no. 8, another small patch of black earth. A few inches to the north of stone no. 8 on the fringe of the inner circle, a small rectangular stone with a portion notched out in the manner of a blade with a sharp cutting edge on the notched side was unearthed and close by a somewhat similar stone was found in square K3. A piece of chert was picked up in square K3. Other discoveries were a piece of shale and a leaf-shaped tool or implement with a borer point at one end and flaked with a mid-rib along the longer diameter (square K1).

While digging in square K2, a pear-shaped tool, perhaps a muller, fabricated from some kind of grit, was discovered. It measures $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches in length and has a circumference near the thicker end of $5\frac{3}{4}$ inches and of $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches at the other extremity. There is evidence of its having been ground on three surfaces as well as at the apex which is truncated. The sides have been chipped and ground to make it adaptable for holding when in use, one side being shaped to admit the pressure of the thumb, while on the other there are three slight depressions to accommodate the fingers. It was probably fashioned

thus to be used as a pestle, and is well adaped for the grinding of colours. It was found at a depth of about a foot and near by a peculiarly shaped stone which it is suggested might have been so fashioned to be used as a palette for colours. It is in the shape of an oyster or large pecten shell. On the upper surface a depression, which is roughly circular and 3 inches in diameter, has been flaked out. The edge of this has in some places been rubbed to take off the sharpness. A handle on one side, with an inclination to the right, has been fashioned by chipping and rubbing to admit of its being held in the left hand. There are seven surfaces to this handle, six of which are discernible on the upper side, and a flake has been taken off the under side to permit of a firm hold. There has also been a portion of the under surface chipped off to admit of the palette standing when not in use.

On the completion of the season's examination the ground was levelled up and the turf replaced.

A portion of the black earth which was found in several different places was examined by Mr. Johnson Oliver at the Ulverston Victoria Grammar School, who found in it aluminium silicate, ferric oxide, calcium phosphate and carbonaceous matter. A more detailed analysis of a similar deposit found within the circumference of the inner circle will be found in the report on the work done in 1911 (*Transactions*, N.S. xii, p. 267).

Relative dimensions of the Circles:—Although no standard of measurment by early man is known the following facts are of interest: (1) the inner circle's diameter averages 27 feet; (2) several stones of the outer circle were found to be 27 feet apart.

Art. XXVII.—*The Purpose and Date of the Vallum and its Crossings.* By F. Gerald Simpson and R. C. Shaw, M.R.C.S.

Part I. The Vallum.

The Evidence of the Remains.

In 1908, as briefly reported in these *Transactions*, N.S. xiii, p. 395, a system of equidistant and opposite gaps in the north and south mounds of the Vallum was discovered. In part, it was a re-discovery. The Rev. John Horsley, alone among earlier observers,* made three striking references to the presence of "breaks" in the *north* mound of the Vallum, in his *Britannia Romana* (pp. 140, 141, and 145). On the diagram, p.158, n.11, the "breaks" are indicated by shading, in the north mound only. As the following quotations show, he pointedly disclaimed an understanding of their purpose, but, by clear inference, recognised their Roman date:—

Between Rudchester and Harlow Hill. The breaks in the north *agger*, which are remarkable both here and in several other parts, deserve to be considered. They look like gaps made for carriages; but whether they are really for this purpose, or whether stones have been wrought out of it for paving *Severus's* military way, or whether they are only accidental, I shall not pretend to determine (*Ibid.* p. 140).

Between Wall Houses and Matfen Piers. A little after it† has passed by the *Wall Houses*, it runs almost parallel both to the wall and the north *agger*, and within a few yards of the north *agger*; . . . . . The north *agger* is high by intervals, but has great breaks in it, and is in the main ruinous; so that probably it required more

* The three references to the gaps in Warburton's *Vallum Romanum* (pp. 42 44, and 52) are exact quotations from Horsley.

† *i.e.* the Military Way.

pains and expense to level and prepare it for a pavement,* than to lay the pavement quite new where they† have done it (*Ibid.* p. 141).

His failure to observe the gaps in the south mound is evident and puzzling. The vital detail, their equidistant arrangement, also escaped him. How nearly, however, he came to an understanding of it a further quotation proves :—

> They are oft very numerous, continued for a good space, and within of thirty or forty yards (sometimes more sometimes less) one of another (*Ibid.* p. 140).

The credit for this all-important discovery must be given to Mr. William Hepple, then of Sook Hill, Haltwhistle, the foreman employed by the late Mr. J. P. Gibson, F.S.A. and the first-named of the joint authors of this paper, during the excavation of the fort on the Stanegate at Haltwhistle Burn in 1908.

This discovery, made first at Cawfields, speedily led to the recognition that a regular system of gaps extends throughout the length of the Vallum, untraceable to-day only where the mounds are too completely worn down by cultivation, or modified by other less obvious causes. "A system extending throughout the length of the Vallum" is the statement of a general rule from surface observation, the exceptions to which, *i.e.* those lengths of the earthwork in which the gaps do not appear in both mounds, tend only the more fully to prove, as they come to be understood by excavation.

Between 1908 and 1920, progress, in the hands of the first-named writer, was confined to surveying the gap system in different sectors of the Vallum, and to the observation : (1) of the disposal of the material obviously removed from the mounds when the gaps were made ;

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* Horsley believed that the Military Way was carried *upon* the north mound at several points (*Ibid.* pp. 99, 141, 143, 145, 146 and diagram, P. 158, N. 11). In September, 1920, this was proved by excavation to be the case between Limestone Corner and the Coesike (¾-mile east of Sewingshields), except, as pointed out by Horsley, for a short distance opposite each milecastle.

† *i.e.* the Romans.

Fig. 1.—The Vallum at Cawfields, looking east.

Fig. 2.—The Vallum at Cawfields, looking north.

To face p. 354.

(2) of similar gaps in the rampart of the Turf Wall; and (3) that the gaps never occur in the marginal mound, the inner, third member of the earthwork's cross-section which is shown by the character of its material to be of later construction than the original outer mounds.

No progress, however, was made in understanding the purpose of the system, nor in ascertaining its relative date, beyond the observation that the gaps appeared to increase the visibility of the mounds from a distance under some conditions of lighting, leading the first-named writer to the notion that the object of the system might have been the increased visibility of a Frontier "Mark."

In 1920, the question was taken up afresh by the writers jointly, and, in June of that year, "the missing link" in the gap system—corresponding causeways across the Ditch, obviously indicating crossings—was at last observed near Great Chesters (AESICA), and fully confirmed in September during the course of the Ordnance Survey Revision of Northumberland, by the further observation of such causeways near Carvoran (MAGNA), and Matfen Piers.

Before the purpose and date of these crossings can be adequately discussed, it is necessary to reconsider first the purpose of the Vallum itself, and its date (*i.e.* its place in the chronological order of the Frontier Works).

Until about 1890, the military purpose of the earthwork was invariably accepted, in spite of more or less clearly expressed surprise* at the un-military character of many details of its design and course.

After that date, however, came an unmistakable change

* *E.g.*, G. Neilson, LL.D., *Per Lineam Valli*, 1891, pp. 46-7. Arguing against the southern defence theory, Dr. Neilson says:—"It cannot discount its glaring strategic disadvantages by an appeal to an average of gain: it must shew more adequate cause for its ever-recurrent weaknesses, and for its fundamental and prevalent disregard of those principles of fortification seen not better in the wall of Hadrian than in the vallum of Antonine. When this standard is applied the utter imperfection and ineptitude of the work are so manifest that it shrinks from the ordeal of comparison."

of opinion, first expressed by British and German military engineer officers,* whose convictions as to its non-military purpose were increasingly confirmed as actual research proceeded.

It should ever be borne in mind, when the many theories which have flourished with such luxuriance along the lines of the Vallum are considered, that the very first *spade-work* dates not from 1822, as in the case of the forts, nor 1848 as in that of the Wall, but from so recent a date as 1893, when work was begun by the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne (*Archaeologia Aeliana*, 2nd series, xvi, p. xxvi), followed in 1894 by the Excavation Committee of the Cumberland and Westmorland Society, under the leadership of the late Professor Haverfield, the late Mr. T. H. Hodgson, F.S.A., and Mrs. T. H. Hodgson.

A statement of the findings of the Cumberland Excavation Committee, based upon the work of five consecutive seasons, is given by Professor Haverfield in these *Transactions*, O.S. xv, pp. 337-344. The same conclusions are stated in Professor Haverfield's article entitled "Roman Britain" in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, ed. XI, 1911, vol. iv, pp. 584-6. The most recent report of work on the Vallum is given in these *Transactions*, N.S. xiii, pp. 389-396, by the first-named of the present writers.

The arguments from the two main groups of facts, *i.e.* the details of (1) its design, and (2) its course, which militate against the military purpose of the Vallum, may now be briefly re-stated.

In the first place, consider the design of the Vallum as indicated by its cross-section (fig. 3). The Ditch, which represents the centre-line of a symmetrical design, is flat-bottomed, and shallow in relation to its width compared with a V-shaped ditch—an impressively un-military section. The Ditch is flanked by two main mounds which

* General Pitt-Rivers, General Sir William Crossman, and General O. von Sarwey, Military Director of the German Limeskommission.

render the work neutral as regards military advantage against a northern, or southern enemy. This states the case of general average, in which the cross-section is taken as being horizontal. Theories of defence against north or south have always relied upon sloping sections, which are really exceptional in relation to the whole length of the works. Almost invariably, it has been overlooked that the total length through which the section is practically horizontal is certainly not less than the combined lengths of those portions in which the ground slopes to the north, or to the south, sufficiently to constitute a military advantage.

Again, the marginal mound (fig. 7) has no constant relation to the Ditch, varying continually in size when present, and entirely absent for considerable distances in several sectors. The intermittent character of this mound, considered by Horsley to be Hadrian's Wall—"Hadrian's Principal Agger" — (*Britannia Romana*, p. 117, and diagrams P. 158, N. 11), must, in the case of so singularly fair-minded an observer, have subjected his theory in the making to a strain which approached breaking-point.

Finally, it must be remembered that in no section through the mounds has any trace whatever of a palisade been observed.

Considering, secondly, the course of the Vallum: its general line appears to bear no constant relation to the physical features of the country through which it passes. Whatever considerations weighed with the engineers during the survey of its course, they were certainly not consistently those of military strategy. There is no indication that the Vallum endeavours to follow ground which always gives a southern command, or a northern, or that consequently it interposes, wherever possible, physical barriers such as marshland between itself and the country to the south, or to the north. Examples of the course where, for some distance along the lines, the command at

short range is a southern one are the Craggle Hill—Banks, Cawfields and Winshields sectors. On the other hand, on the Gilsland, King's Hill—Sewingshields and Portgate sectors the command is just as definitely northern.

Should a survey of this alternating "command" in hilly country, together with the total absence of anything of advantage worth the name in level country, fail to produce conviction of its non-military purpose, the evidence of particular points may be conclusively adduced.

Over any such course of sixty-six miles* as that taken by the Vallum, isolated natural features, such as marshy depressions and abrupt elevations inevitably occur.

It may be re-affirmed that in a *military* scheme—the Wall itself is a standing testimony to this rule†—all such features would be incorporated if reasonably possible, or carefully avoided. Actually, however, the alternating or neutral treatment of such natural obstacles is the outstanding feature of the earthwork's course.

For example, though it skirts the *north* edge of the marshland between Great Chesters (AESICA) and Carvoran (MAGNA), and of that also between Shield-on-the-Wall and Winshields farms, it forsakes abruptly, between Peel Crag and High Shield, a course exactly similar to that throughout the last named sector, *i.e.* along the foot of the south slope of the Crags, and skirts the *south* edge of the marsh instead.

Again, at the west end of Walltown Crags, and south of the whinstone quarry, the command is distinctly southern. Only 500 yards to the east, however, is a small hill which completely overlooks the whole work from the south!

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* The Vallum apparently terminated at Newcastle-upon-Tyne (PONS AELII) on the east (*Brit. Rom.* p. 120), and at Burgh Marsh on the west (*Ibid.* p. 156).

† "Shooting over the country, in its onward course, it only swerves from a straight line to take in its route the boldest elevations. So far from declining a hill, it uniformly selects one ..... But if the Murus never moves from a right line, except to occupy the highest points, it never fails to seize them, as they occur, no matter how often it is compelled, with this view, to change its direction" (Bruce, *R.W.*, 1867, p. 51).

Instead of encircling, or avoiding it, the Ditch is carried along its foot, while the south mound is not continued over its steep northern slope, but actually intermitted, dying away into the slope at one end, to re-commence at the other!

There are at least two further instances in which the south mound is thus merged into the slopes of an abrupt hill, which completely commands the whole work at "point-blank" range from the south; the first, that of Blake Law, five furlongs east of Walltown; and the second, a small hill opposite Mosskennels, the highest point in the long ridge already referred to, which overlooks the Vallum for nearly a mile between King's Hill and Sewingshields.

The well-known instance of Down Hill, so frequently cited as proof that the hill was enclosed as an element in a southern defensive scheme, is entirely negatived by the contrary instance cited above of the enclosure of the marsh between Peel Crag and High Shield, more certainly a source of weakness in a southern scheme than was Down Hill an element of strength!

Lastly, half way between Bradley and Housesteads, the course is not only neutral, but so weak as surely to constitute, for the military proposition, a *reductio ad absurdum.* At this point the Vallum is carried along the bottom of a little valley. On the south, a ridge of freestone, running parallel to the earthwork, rises sharply to a height of 50 feet above the Ditch, the distance, measured horizontally, between the crest of the ridge and the centre-line of the Ditch, being only 120 feet. The south mound, 50 feet nearer the ridge, is consequently at the very foot of a steep 80-foot slope. On the north, the sloping "back" of the Whin Sill, steeper at this point than usual, attains to a height of 50 feet above the earthwork within 60 yards. These extreme conditions continue for about 120 yards, beyond which the height of the ridge is gradually reduced in both directions. So complete is the enemy command of

the Vallum from both sides, that the late Mr. T. H. Hodgson's estimate of its efficiency as a work of defence at this point, that "bar gunpowder, a party of schoolboys could stone the best troops in the world out of the Vallum," is no exaggeration.

Finally, it may be said without risk of overstatement, that in this and in every other such instance, the fatally weak place could have been consistently avoided, or incorporated, with an additional expenditure of labour so small as to be negligible compared with the magnitude of the whole work.

It is surely impossible to avoid the conclusion that the presence of these defects in the course of the Vallum proves that the governing consideration in the minds of the surveyors was not a military one.

The displacement of any theory, strongly founded upon the convictions of such men as the Rev. John Hodgson, Dr. Bruce, and Mr. John Clayton, on whose record their successors look with unfeigned admiration, may easily be accepted as a merely negative result, the solution of the problem being deemed as far off as ever—the "inscrutable" Vallum being inscrutable still. The reply may now, however, be fairly made that the Vallum is inscrutable only when its purpose is held to be military; and that if its non-military character be conceded, the arguments based upon the inconsistent and neutral features of its design and course, which were destructive of the former explanation, will be found to be uniformly constructive of the latter, especially in view of the recent discoveries. In a word, the non-military explanation directs attention to the Ditch of the Vallum as the all-important feature of the earthwork, the meaning and value of which it was the function of the mounds to enhance. From the standpoint of design, the symmetrical cross-section of the original work, *i.e.* the two mounds equidistant from the flat-bottomed central ditch, gives to such an explanation sup-

port which is almost vocal in its clearness, while the evidence of the course strengthens the impression that the local variations described above were governed by a design to carry the Ditch across ground which gave, with a minimum expenditure of labour, the maximum of stability in the subsoil on the one hand, and the nearest approach to a horizontal cross-section on the other. This two-fold principle evidently aimed, firstly, at the preservation of the Ditch from obliteration through subsidence, and, secondly, at the preservation of the mounds from side-slip.

Any examples of exceptional treatment of local difficulties, revealed by research, which could be construed as invalidating such a generalisation as the above, must now be considered. Two instances, both of which involve the principle of the preservation of the Ditch, might be so adduced. The first, and the outstanding case, is that of White Moss, between Bleatarn and Wallhead, and the second, the hollow between Gilsland Vicarage and the railway embankment immediately to the west of the Poltross Burn. In both cases, the Vallum has been carried across ground which has an unstable subsoil—of surface peat upon soft sand at White Moss, and again of peat at Gilsland.

The question naturally arises, why was not the earthwork carried round these peat-mosses, as it was round the marshes between Carvoran and High Shield? At White Moss, the explanation appears to be that similar subsoil conditions obtain over a wide area, extending for at least three furlongs eastward, from Wallhead towards Bleatarn, and five southward (the present limits of the unenclosed common), and certainly just as far to the north of the Wall and westward towards Walby, where the ground is now enclosed and cultivated. In view of this fact, it is evident that the circumvention of White Moss, as the Roman engineers found it, would have involved the addition of a full mile at least to the length of the works.

Instead, they evidently decided that the Vallum must cross the Moss.

The conditions at Gilsland are the reverse of those at White Moss: instead of a wide expanse of level ground, the Vallum crosses a hollow, scarcely 50 yards in width opposite the Vicarage, but extending 3 furlongs from the Burn, and widening, towards the south-west (these *Transactions*, N.S. xiii, plate XXXI). To divert the whole work for half a mile in order to escape a peat-moss 50 yards wide was obviously quite unnecessary, and the case would call for no comment, were it not for the special treatment of the Ditch.

How the subsoil difficulty was met in these cases appears to be of the greatest value in its bearing upon the question at issue.

At Gilsland, excavation has shown that the size of the Ditch was considerably reduced, from at least 20 feet in width by 5 feet in depth beyond the limits of the peat-moss, *i.e.* where the subsoil is stable, to only 14 feet by 4 feet where it is cut through the peat (*Ibid.* p. 391). Reduction in the size of the Ditch, where, at a point so obviously weak, considerations of defence would call for increase, can be interpreted only as a further argument against the military theory. Considered, however, as the modification of a *civil* work, accounted for by a local engineering difficulty, the general parallelism of the whole meanwhile continuing unaltered,* such a reduction appears to be nothing more than a common-sense precaution against subsidence.

Crossing White Moss, where excavation was undertaken in 1894 (these *Transactions*, O.S. xiii, p. 460, and plate III), the Vallum presents a unique four-mound cross-section, which reappears towards Bleatarn at the east side of the Baron's Dyke (*Ibid.* p. 462 and plate V).

* Throughout this sector, the distance between the centre-lines of the north and south mounds is from 100 to 105 feet (*Ibid.* p. 392).

West of the Moss, the ground has been much ploughed and the works in consequence obliterated. For this reason, the westward limit of the four-mound section is not known. Its eastward limit, however, is traceable upon the surface and is thus described in the Report (*Ibid.* p. 463, § ii) :—

East of this trench (*i.e.* plate v) the ground rises towards Bleatarn farmhouse and hillock, and the Vallum alters with the rise. The four ridges coalesce into two larger mounds with a marked depression between.

Though no explanation of the four-mound section *as such* was attempted in the Report, the conclusion as to its occurrence at this point is valuable ; it is that " the normal scheme of the Vallum. . . . . was not rigidly followed on difficult ground, such as a boggy moss " (*Ibid.* p. 462).

An explanation of this four-mound section must, however, be advanced.

Four-mound sections occur elsewhere, *e.g.*, eastward from Blake Law, near Walltown, and again close to Shield-on-the-Wall farm, east of Cawfields ; the former about 230 yards in length, and the latter less than 100 yards. In such cases, however, the abnormality is confined to the disposal of the material forming the marginal mound, which, instead of being found wholly along the south edge of the Ditch as usual, appears for a short distance as an additional mound on the north edge, ending as it began quite abruptly, and beyond which the general cross-section of the earthwork is in every respect normal.

From such a four-mound section, the White Moss—Bleatarn example differs radically. Instead of two normal outer mounds, these are so small, and of such indefinite composition, as to have led to the conclusion that " one, if not both, of the two outer mounds may be accidental " (*Ibid.* p. 460). The size of the Ditch also is greatly reduced and measures hardly 5 feet in width.*

* *Ibid.* o.s. xiii, p. 460, last par., " 15 " (feet) is a misprint for " 5."

On either side of it, however, are two large mounds each fully 16 feet wide at the base originally. The special interest of these mounds lies in the fact that they exhibit the special construction at the sides (*Ibid.* p. 460, last par. and plate III), first described as "kerbing" in 1908, after a similar discovery at Cawfields, briefly reported in these *Transactions*, N.S. xiii, p. 395.

The fact that this cross-section is, as usual, symmetrical about the centre-line of the Ditch, is the basis of the following explanation. The distance between the centre-lines of the outer mounds is about 91 feet: the Ditch between them is less than 2 feet out of centre; while the centre-lines of the large inner mounds are about 28 feet apart.

Turning now to the similar Bleatarn section, the distance between the outer mound centre-lines is here about 85 feet: the Ditch is central; and the inner mound centre-lines are from 28 to 30 feet apart. There is, however, no indication of the "kerbing" in the inner mounds at this point.*

At Brunstock (*Ibid.* p. 460 and plate II), where the section is a normal one, the distance between the outer mound centre-lines (which may be termed, from the surveyor's standpoint, the "Width of the Vallum") is about 91 feet.†

In the light of that measurement, the outer mounds at White Moss (about 91 feet apart) and Bleatarn (about 85 feet), in spite of their diminutive size, at once establish themselves as original and not accidental features, emphasising, as at Gilsland, the persistence of the parallelism of the Vallum in spite of sectional modifications.

The inner mounds have no connection whatever with the usual marginal mound, the material of which, as well

* This method of construction is clearly intermittent. Elsewhere in Cumberland, it appears at Brunstock and Hare Hill, but neither at Appletree nor Gilsland. In Northumberland, it has been observed at Cawfields; near The Peel; ¼ mile east of Carrawburgh, and at Halton.

† The average width of the Vallum from Gilsland to Whittledean is 100 ft. Here and there it measures 105 feet, for a short distance.

as that of the outer mounds, came from the Ditch. Here, the sectional area of the outer mounds, small though they be, already so nearly equals that of the Ditch, that all the material in the inner mounds must be otherwise accounted for. Obviously, it has been brought from a distance for a special purpose. The impression of a special purpose is confirmed by the careful "kerbing" of the mounds, by their position about 30 feet apart, *i.e.* the normal width of the Ditch of the Vallum, and most of all by the fact that they end where the subsoil again becomes stable.

Was not the objective the carrying of the Ditch, artificially raised like a railway upon an embankment, across ground through which it could not have been dug except at the certain price of continual subsidence? Whatever may be thought of this solution, it is not advanced here for the first time, in order to explain the White Moss section. The object of the retaining-walls of the Ditch at the crossing of Poltross Burn appears to be explained in the same manner:—

> The object of the whole work appears to have been to carry forward the ditch to the edge of the stream artificially, beyond the position where the steep banks could have formed the sides and bottom naturally. The remains strongly confirm the view that the ditch was the essential feature of the Vallum (*Ibid.* p. 394, and plate XXXIV: also cf. O.S. XV, p. 179).

To argue for the military purpose of such artificial sections of the Ditch may fairly be considered as bordering on the ludicrous.

To this survey of special features which have been revealed by research, must be added three outstanding general results:—

1. At no point throughout the length of the Vallum has an original interruption of the Ditch been discovered.

   Contrast the intermittent character of the ditch of the Wall:—"In those positions, ..., where its assistance could be of no avail, as along the edge of a

cliff, the fosse does not appear" (Bruce, *R.W.*, 1867, p. 55).

2. All the forts actually in contact with the Wall, and one slightly in the rear (Castlesteads), are placed intentionally to the north, *i.e.* on the enemy side, of the Vallum.

The intention is proved by the deviation of the Vallum from its previous, and in general, straight course, on approaching no less than five out of six forts where its obliterated course has recently been recovered by excavation.*

3. In each case of avoiding a fort, the width of the Vallum and the size of the Ditch and mounds (where the latter have been traced) are considerably reduced, throughout the length of the deviation from the regular line.

These deviations to the south might appear to afford valuable support for a scheme of southern defence—until this third fact is disclosed!

One further source of information remains, that of the marginal mound. Its evidence is of unique value, for it refers to a period subsequent to that of the construction of the Vallum. Later examination uniformly confirms the first conclusions, that the disturbed and discoloured material of which this mound is composed represents a later clearing, or re-cutting of the Ditch (*Proceedings, S.A. Newc.* 3 ser. ix, p. 283), an operation which obviously resulted in considerable enlargement as well. This re-cutting and enlargement, now known to be subsequent to the causeways and in general involving their removal, and which has no counterpart in a réconstruction of the mounds,† only serves to intensify the impression of importance which each step in the general survey of the evidence places the more definitely upon the Ditch.

* Rudchester (these *Transactions* o.s. xv, p. 178): Halton (Northumberland County History, x, p. 467-8): Carrawburgh (these *Transactions* o.s. xiv. p. 416): Birdoswald (*Ibid.* o.s. xiv, p. 415): Castlesteads (*Ibid.* N.S. iii, p. 339).

† No general attempt has been made to fill up the gaps.

The non-military explanation of the purpose of the Vallum may now be stated: it is that the earthwork was a boundary, or frontier mark, the actual line of delimitation being the Ditch, the abrupt impression of which was to be increased by the broad double track of the mounds. The writers are, however, aware that this is a re-statement: they are also aware that the previous statement has never advanced beyond the position of a statement unsupported by reasoned proof, and that, in consequence, it has been viewed, perhaps by the majority, as incapable of proof, and, therefore, as inherently unsatisfactory.

Whether the Vallum were a fortification, or a road—or even a ship canal, the other explanations had, at any rate, the merit of being easily understood: "a civil boundary," however, along a frontier which appeared to bristle with fortifications, was, until research advanced, perhaps inevitably to be regarded as a somewhat nebulous conception. The recent discoveries encourage the writers in the belief that research has now so far advanced that proof is no longer impossible.

The Roman boundary explanation was definitely advanced by Professor Haverfield in 1896 (these *Transactions*, O.S. xiv, p. 419):—

> It [the Vallum] was erected to serve some definite purpose in connection with the Wall, and that gives a presumption that it was erected at the same time as the Wall. . . We must, then, look on it rather as a "civil" work, perhaps one side of a *Limes* of which the Wall is the other (as Mommsen suggests), perhaps some other form of frontier-mark most probably coeval with—conceivably, later than—the Wall.

In 1899, after five seasons' work, he published a detailed statement of his conclusions in the same *Transactions* (O.S. xv, p. 337-344), from which the following extracts have been taken:—

> The character of the Vallum, a ditch between mounds, has been recognised as wholly unsuitable to military uses and its course has been noticed to be such as not unfrequently to make it indefensible

against the south. We must, therefore, give up the view of Hodgson and Bruce, that it was meant to protect the Stone Wall from assaults in the rear and we must give up any other theory which assigns it a military character. It is a ditch between mounds, made by the Roman for some purpose, legal or other, which was not directly connected with fighting or fortification. . . . As to date, the Vallum can scarcely be later than the Stone Wall forts and milecastles ; nor can it be earlier, since it deviates to avoid them. It is natural, therefore, to adopt one part of Hodgson and Bruce's theory, call Vallum and Wall contemporary and ascribe both to Hadrian. We know from inscriptions and literature that that Emperor erected a wall, with forts and milecastles, from sea to sea, and, at first sight, that wall would seem identical with the Stone Wall that can still be traced mile after mile across the moors, and its forts and milecastles with the buildings on which we still look with astonishment. If this is so, the Vallum must represent a line of civil or legal delimitation, just as the Wall unquestionably forms the military barrier, and both were constructed about A.D. 124.

Following an account of the discovery of the Turf Wall, the statement continues :—

Possibly it is the sole surviving relic of a Turf Wall which once reached from sea to sea, and when, at some later date, the existing Stone Wall was built, that was raised precisely on the top of it except for two miles at Birdoswald. . . . .

In that case we shall conclude that Hadrian built a Turf Wall, with forts and milecastles of some sort and the Vallum, and that the Wall was afterwards rebuilt in stone at a period of which the stone inscriptions of the Wall certainly give us no indication.

Professor Haverfield's latest position was stated in his article entitled " Roman Britain," in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Edition XI, 1911, vol. iv, pp. 584-6 :—

The details of his work are imperfectly known, for though many remains survive, it is hard to separate those of Hadrian's date from others that are later. But that Hadrian built a wall here is proved alike by literature and by inscriptions. The meaning of the scheme is equally certain. It was to be, as it were, a Chinese wall, marking the definite limit of the Roman world. It was now declared, not by the secret resolutions of cabinets, but by the work of the spade, marking the solid earth for ever, that the era of conquest was ended (p. 584).

The meaning of the Vallum is much more doubtful.... The two facts that are clear about it are, that it is a Roman work, no older than Hadrian (if so old), and that it was not intended like the Wall for military defence. Probably it is contemporaneous with either the turf wall or the stone wall, and marked some limit of the civil province of Britain. Beyond this we cannot at present go (p. 586).

From each of the above statements it is clear that in Professor Haverfield's opinion, the frontier scheme was a two-fold one, a combined line of defence and boundary. Not one of them conveys a hint of any difference in date between the two components, such as would imply that one, or other, was an addition to the original scheme: the scheme is one.

From this point a different solution will be sought, which, while maintaining the two-fold character of the scheme, and the boundary purpose of the Vallum, modifies (1) the chronological order of the Works, and (2) the nature of the defensive component.

Among close observers of the Tyne and Solway frontier, one stands alone on account of his special equipment, Henry Maclauchlan, the surveyor of the Wall in 1852-4. He first, from a technical standpoint, for reasons stated in much detail and involving point after point along the lines, suggested that the Vallum and the Wall were not contemporaneous, but that the Vallum was laid out first, quite independently (*Memoir of the Survey*, pp. 5, 89-91). When, however, Maclauchlan attempted an historical explanation of his own findings as a surveyor, he adopted Horsley's theory.

Though research has rendered untenable Horsley's theory and, therefore, Maclauchlan's also, the force of his deductions from the laying out of the two works continues unimpaired, and has never been explained away by any advocate of their contemporaneous date.

During recent years research has increasingly furnished evidence in support of Maclauchlan's opinion. Near

Down Hill (*Arch. Ael.* 2nd ser., xvi, p. xxvi), at Cawfields and Gilsland (these *Transactions*, N.S. xiii, p. 389), and, most recently, between Limestone Corner and the Coesike, as already referred to above, the Military Way, an integral part of the Stone Wall scheme, has been found encroaching upon the north mound and berm in such a manner that the pre-existence of the Vallum, complete and independent, is self-evident.

At Harrow's Scar, the north mound has been removed to provide space for a milecastle* (*Ibid.* p. 362).

At Birdoswald, the ditch of the *enlarged* fort interferes with, and is therefore later than, the Ditch of the Vallum (*Ibid.* O.S. xiv, p. 416).

Lastly, also at Birdoswald, the Stone Wall was proved, in June 1920, to be of later date than the *enlarged* fort,† affording with the last-quoted evidence, conclusive proof of Maclauchlan's contention that the Vallum is older than the Stone Wall.

But this discovery at Birdoswald accounts only for the Stone Wall; whether the Vallum is older than the Turf Wall, or *vice versa*, it does not decide. The Turf Wall, however, if it ever continued beyond its present limits at Wall Bowers and Harrow's Scar,‡ must have occupied the line of the Stone Wall.

Maclauchlan's deductions therefore apply as forcefully to the earlier, as to the later work, while his argument, extended to the vital Birdoswald sector, produces yet another case, actually from the Turf Wall line, comparable to those on which he bases his views (*Memoir*, p. 90), and

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* Professor Haverfield, on this evidence, at first thought the Vallum might be *later* than the Wall (*Ibid.* O.S. xv, p. 351). Mrs. T. H. Hodgson held the contrary view from the first (*Ibid.* O.S. xv, p. 376).

† *Proceedings, S.A. Newcastle*, 3rd series, ix, p. 295; see also *Addenda* to the present volume.

‡ *E.g.*, as an intermittent work, during the building of the Stone Wall, temporarily filling gaps in the line, and being gradually removed as the masonry advanced (*Ibid.* N.S. xiii, p. 360).

as an example of the close approach of the two works, more striking than them all (these *Transactions*, N.S. xiii, p. 361).

The writers are aware that this analogy does not yet amount to final proof in the case of the Turf Wall at Birdoswald. In that of the Stone Wall it was supplied by excavation at both ends of the connecting link between it and the Vallum, the west rampart and ditch of the *enlarged* fort. Proof will be forthcoming when the corresponding link between the Turf Wall and the Vallum, the west rampart and ditch of the *early* fort,is re-examined.

At this point it might appear that a solution of the problem advanced years ago is being reached, namely, that the Vallum was " a civil or more precisely a non-military line marking the Roman frontier *before it was deemed to need fortification* "* (*Ibid.* O.S. xv, p. 339). Such a solution however, is an impossible one, historically, as well as archaeologically. For the moment, the forts have been overlooked. Their significance is vital; in fact the crux of the problem is now seen to be this question, whether in Hadrian's *original* scheme the defensive element was intermittent or continuous.

To prevent possible misunderstanding upon the question of defence, it must be clearly understood that every frontier, in accordance with settled policy, had its line of defence, consisting, until Hadrian's reign, simply of a series of forts connected by a military road;† and that, in the present instance, the forts lying between the Vallum and the Wall‡ constitute that line.

That this chain of forts is, in order of construction,§ earlier than the Vallum, is practically proved by the fact already referred to, that of a probable total of nine forts

* The italics are the present writers'.

† " In all cases known to us the line of defence along a Roman frontier was formed by a chain of military posts" (Pelham, *Essays*, viii, " The Roman Frontier System," p. 170).

‡ With the addition of Carvoran (MAGNA) and Chesterholm (VINDOLANDA) on the Stanegate.

§ Though neither necessarily, nor probably so, *in order of design.*

which lie across its course, in five cases out of six which have hitherto been examined, the earthwork's course is altered, obviously in order to avoid them.

It is satisfactory, however, that positive evidence of the isolation of the forts as originally planned, and in addition of a connection by road (the Stanegate), is available from other sources, leading to the acceptance of the whole chain as an example of the standard type of defensive frontier line, according to the above rule.*

The direct evidence, which the Birdoswald discovery of June 1920 failed to supply, appears to be forthcoming from the parallel discovery, made a week later, at Great Chesters (AESICA). In both cases the Stone Wall, in order to effect a junction with the fort wall at the north-west angle, was found to have been carried across the ditch of the fort, which had been purposely filled up at that point.

The vital difference between the two cases lies in the fact that, whereas at Birdoswald the fort has been enlarged considerably, to the north (and apparently to the

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* Horsley held that the forts were earlier than either Vallum or Wall. He ascribed them uniformly to Agricola, and supposed the north mound of the Vallum to be Agricola's connecting military road. According to his theory, Hadrian added the Ditch and the mounds to the south of it (*Britannia Romana*, pp. 98-9).

The first trench ever cut through the mounds—near Heddon-on-the-Wall, in 1893—disproved Horsley's theory, and every other which was based upon a difference in date between the north and south mounds (*Arch. Ael.* 2nd ser. xvi, p. xxvi; also cf. these *Transactions*, o.s. xv, p. 340).

It is no longer necessary to consider Agricola as the builder of a chain of forts on the Wall line. The present evidence points to the Stanegate as Agricola's line of road between Corbridge (CORSTOPITUM) and Carlisle (LUGUVALLIUM) (cf. *Arch. Ael.* 2nd ser., xvi, p. 336-7). Both sites have now produced pottery and other remains dateable to his period (*Northd. County Hist.*, x, p. 478: these *Transactions*, N.S. xvii, p. 118 and following); while from Nether Denton, on the road between them, remarkable coin (*Ibid.* o.s. i, p. 88-9) and pottery (*Ibid.* N.S. xiii, p. 385) evidence has come, pointing to an occupation ending with the establishment of the Hadrianic lines to the north, and which cannot have begun much later than that of the two more important sites. It is, of course, quite possible that individual forts on the Wall line may prove to have been first built as outliers of the Stanegate chain.

south as well*), there is no hint of any northern enlargement at Great Chesters (AESICA).

While, therefore, the Birdoswald evidence is particular proving only the priority of the *enlarged* fort to the *Stone* Wall, at Great Chesters it appears to be of quite general significance.

The theoretically "general" case will cover that part of the Turf Wall theory which was not disproved by the Appletree—High House—Birdoswald evidence of 1911, namely that, *apart from any question of date*,† a Turf Wall preceded the Stone Wall throughout its length, occupying the same site, except between Wall Bowers and Harrow's Scar.

On this assumption, since the Stone Wall was later than the fort, so also would be the Turf Wall, for it must have crossed the same ditch at the same point. Further, while the enlarged fort at Birdoswald may have only one ditch, Great Chesters (AESICA) certainly has four. The crossing of the innermost only has, up to the present, been proved by excavation. That the four are contemporaneous is,

* These *Transactions*, o.s. xiv, p. 416 : xv, p. 343 (footnote).

† The Turf Wall Theory was essentially a theory as to *date*. The following quotation from *Roman Britain in* 1913 (*British Academy Supplemental Papers*, ii) indicates Professor Haverfield's agreement as to its disproof by the Appletree-High House-Birdoswald evidence of 1911 (P. Newbold, these *Transactions*, N.S. xiii, pp. 339-359) :—"This turf Wall is certainly older than . . . the stone Wall; . . . hence came the theory that Hadrian, about A.D. 125, built from Tyne to Solway a turf Wall which was later rebuilt in stone—perhaps by Severus—on just the same line, save in one place—at Birdoswald—where the new wall deviated from the older to avoid a danger of landslip. Mr. Simpson has tested this theory, and his results are adverse to it. He has excavated a milecastle and turrets which stand along that part of the stone Wall which is parallel to the turf Wall, and has found them to contain in their lowest strata, a few potsherds which must be a good bit older than Severus and would naturally be assigned to Hadrian. He provides therefore a strong reason for believing that the stone Wall at this point was actually built by Hadrian, and the natural inference is that Hadrian generally built in stone and not in turf. . . It seems true to say that the turf Wall is the earliest frontier wall known to us, and that Hadrian is the earliest conceivable builder of a frontier wall. It seems equally true that, just where the turf Wall can be clearly traced, the stone Wall can claim to be Hadrian's work."

The work referred to was conducted jointly by the late J. P. Gibson, F.S.A., and the first-named of the present writers.

however, hardly in doubt, for the three outer ditches begin to turn round the angle of the fort concentrically with the innermost, before they are lost to view at the actual point of crossing.

The bearing of the earliest evidence of isolation, that of the rounding of the *northern* angles of the forts at Housesteads and Birdoswald, contrasting so strongly with the right-angle junctions of the milecastles, was recognised from the first (Bruce, *Roman Wall*, 1867, p. 181), and confirmed later by the similar arrangement at Great Chesters (AESICA). The awkward junction at Housesteads, and the contrast in the masonry at Birdoswald, were also noticed (Hodgson, *Hist. Northd.*, pt. II, vol. iii, p. 207). With increasing knowledge of the general system of fort-planning, the full significance of evidence of this character, pointing beyond a difference in the order of construction merely, to one of design, became clearer. The convincing contrast has come from the Wall of Antoninus, where, in every case hitherto investigated, the forts actually linked up by the continuous rampart have square northern angles, like the Tyne and Solway milecastles (Macdonald, *Roman Wall in Scotland*, pl. XXVII, XXVIII and XXXIII).

The evidence of the rounded northern angles has been completed by the discovery at Housesteads of a change of plan associated with the building of the Wall. The north-east angle tower is 30 feet west of the normal position, *i.e.* the middle point of the curve. The reason for its position is obvious: it exactly enfilades the face of the Great Wall from the junction for some distance to the north-east. The remains of an earlier tower in the *normal* position have now been discovered.*

There is, however, one example of a right-angle junction on the line of the Wall which is not that of a milecastle.

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* *Proceedings, S.A. Newcastle*, 3rd. ser., ix, p. 296. It is highly probable, in view of this discovery, that the north-west angle at Great Chesters (AESICA) will yet produce a parallel result (cf. *Arch. Ael.* 2nd, ser. xxiv, p. 36).

It is the north-west angle of the fort at Drumburgh.† Far from weakening the case for isolation, it affords confirmation of striking significance, for though Drumburgh stands upon the Wall, it can have had no connection whatever with the Vallum, which terminated at Dykesfield two and a half miles to the eastward. It is strange indeed that a fort so situated should alone prove, by following the design of the milecastles in so essential a particular, to be contemporaneous with the Stone Wall, if the rounded northern angles of the forts *within* the limits of the Vallum are not an equally true indication of their original isolation.

A further contrast in construction, which has not hitherto been stated in general terms, is the last source of evidence.

The Great Wall is a simple masonry structure. Its average thickness, 7 feet 6 inches, affords ample space for a strong parapet and a rampart-walk of efficient width. The ramparts of the forts, on the other hand, are *composite* structures, consisting of a masonry face and an earthwork backing. The masonry face, or outer wall, is much thinner than the Great Wall: in no case does it exceed an average of 5 feet. Without the earthwork behind, proper provision for the parapet and walk could not have been made.‡

There remains the question of road-communication.

Lying between the limits of the Vallum at Newcastle-upon-Tyne and Burgh Marsh, are twelve forts of the Wall

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† These *Transactions*, o.s. xvi, pp. 81-92. The contrast between the cramped planning of Drumburgh and the comparative spaciousness of the Wall forts is as striking as the different arrangement of their northern angles. The absence of a road between the rampart and the main buildings—for the buttressed and ventilated building which occupies the corner between the north and west walls must be a granary—suggests a small fort crowded with buildings, of which Rough Castle on the Antonine Wall is an outstanding example (Macdonald, *Roman Wall in Scotland*, pp. 220-236).

‡ The remains of the backing are very noticeable at Birdoswald, Great Chesters (Aesica), Housesteads (*Arch. Ael.* 2nd ser. xxv, p. 245) and Chesters (Cilurnum).

chain, or fourteen if Carvoran and Chesterholm are included. The two last named are situated actually upon the Stanegate, and already there is evidence that four of the Wall forts were connected by branch roads with that main road (Maclauchlan, *Memoir*, pp. 28, 40, and 53). Further, Halton had an obvious line of communication with Corbridge *via* Dere Street, and Stanwix, as a bridge-head fort, with Carlisle. Eight of the fourteen sites are thus accounted for.

The mediaeval road-name "Ald-he-way," mentioned by the Rev. John Hodgson (*Hist. of Northd.*, pt. II, vol. iii, p. 282), appears to hint at a continuation of the Stanegate from Corbridge to Newcastle-upon-Tyne (PONS AELII), which would also link up Rudchester (VINDOBALA) and Benwell (CONDERCUM).

As there is no trace of another connecting road, except the obviously later Military Way, the presumption that all the forts were linked together by the Stanegate is not unreasonable.

The most recent report of work on the line of the Stanegate is given in these *Transactions*, N.S. xiii, pp. 381-9.

In concluding this survey of the direct evidence obtained from the actual remains of the Tyne and Solway Frontier Works, it may be submitted that an explanation of their purpose and order of construction which asserts that the Vallum—a boundary—in association with a chain of forts, not only preceded any continuous line of defence in point of time, but was independent of it in intention, is uniformly supported by the evidence at present available, whether derived from surface observation or from excavation.

THE EVIDENCE OF HISTORY AND OF COMPARATIVE RESEARCH.

Consideration of the matter cannot, however, be terminated at this stage. History specifically records, in two passages from his *Life* by Spartianus, the construction by Hadrian of frontier works other than the usual forts and

roads, in Britain and elsewhere. These records must now be reviewed, not only with their context the general account of events about the time of Hadrian's accession, but also in the light of the recent examination of actual remains in Germany which has verified one of the two statements of Spartianus in a remarkable manner. A further source of information is the comparative study of frontier works in other provinces of the Empire, the exact dates of which are not at present known.

The record of Hadrian's doings in Britain is very brief, and so familiar that any hope of deriving new information from it may appear somewhat remote :—

Britanniam petiit : in qua multa correxit, murumque per octoginta millia passuum primus duxit, qui barbaros Romanosque divideret ..... Compositis in Britannia rebus, transgressus in Galliam (*Vita Hadriani*, 11).

" He went to Britain, where he corrected many things, and was the first to draw a wall eighty thousand paces long, in order to divide the barbarians from the Romans . . . When he had put the affairs of the province in order, he passed into Gaul."

Hitherto, interest has centered upon the word " wall," to the neglect of the stated purpose of its construction, " to divide the barbarians from the Romans." In consequence of the prevailing predisposition to judge every detail of Hadrian's frontier policy by defensive standards, the association of this wall with the Stone Wall, manifestly a defensive structure, or, with more reason,* with the Turf Wall,† has been a tempting line of least resistance. On the other hand, it may be asked, could a simpler and better description of a boundary work be given than this of Spartianus, " a wall . . . to divide the barbarians from the Romans "? Nor is this interpretation contradicted by

* Cf. the description of the Wall of Antoninus by Capitolinus :—" *Alio* muro cespiticio," literally " *another* turf wall." The view that the passage may mean " another wall, a turf one " is, however, widely held, and justifiably, in view of the late date of Capitolinus.

† Also a defensive work, similar in design to the Wall of Antoninus, according to every explanation of its purpose hitherto offered.

the second and more general record, which is as follows :—

In plurimis locis in quibus barbari non fluminibus sed limitibus dividuntur, stipitibus magnis in modum muralis saepis funditus iactis atque conexis barbaros separavit (*Vita Hadriani*, 12).

" Where the barbarians were divided from the Empire, not by rivers, but by ' limites ' (*i.e.* frontier roads), he barred them out by great stakes planted deep in the ground and joined together so as to form a wall-like hedge."*

Far from weakening the case, this passage affords it the strongest support, for not only is the purpose of Hadrian's palisades stated in terms almost identical with that of his wall in Britain, conveying the same idea of separation between the barbarians and the Romans, but the examination of the outstanding example on the Rhine-Danube frontier fully confirms their character as obstacles of a boundary rather than a defensive order.

The best account in English of Hadrian's Palisade in Germany is Professor Pelham's, in his Essay " The Roman Frontier in Southern Germany,"† from which the following is a full quotation :—

The researches of the Limeskommission have placed it beyond doubt not only that a palisade was erected along those sections of the frontier, where neither the Neckar nor the Main formed the boundary, but that Spartianus's description of it is extraordinarily accurate. The ditch in which the stakes were implanted and the remains of the stakes themselves, were first identified by District Commissioner W. Kohl on the Raetian section, near Gunzenhausen, in 1894.

Since then the palisade ditch and traces of the palisade have been found along the Odenwald line, from the Neckar to the Main, and from Gross-Krotzenburg on the Main round the Taunus to the Rhine. The palisade is demonstrably later than the earth forts of Domitian, through some of which it passes, and older than the so-called " limes " itself, which, in Raetia at any rate, occasionally

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* Pelham, *Essays*, ix, p. 200. Professor Pelham's translation of " separare " as " to bar out " is very effective in this realistic description of the great fence, but nothing of defensive significance can be read into the word, which simply implies separating action.

† *Essays on Roman History*, ix, 1911, pp. 179—211 : *Trans. Royal Historical Society*, xx, pp. 17-47.

crosses and recrosses the line of the palisade (*Limes-Blatt*, pp. 302—483 sqq). The palisade was a very substantial obstacle. It stood nine feet high. For the upright stakes, as Spartianus calls them, the trunks of oak trees have been split in two, and set up with the flat face towards the "outland." Their average thickness is 23-9 cm. and breadth 37-54 cm. They were, as Spartianus says, "funditus iacti" in a ditch 4½ feet deep, and "conexi" (bound together) on the inside by strong cross beams."

Professor Pelham's estimate of the significance of the Palisade, which expresses not only his personal view, but the considered opinion of German archaeology as well, is of the greatest importance :—

These facts, taken together with Spartianus's statement, justify us in assigning this elaborate mechanical barrier to Hadrian. It is nevertheless inconceivable that the palisade was ever intended as an effective defence in time of war. Its erection implies a comparatively peaceful and settled state of affairs, when the dangers to be guarded against on the frontier were those of smuggling or of petty raids. From this point of view India furnishes us with an interesting analogy. The following account has been kindly supplied to me of the "Customs Hedge" in India (see also *Essays*, p. 323) : "For the purpose of realising the duty on salt produced in Native States and in British districts subject to a lower rate of duty, when imported into Upper India, a customs line was commenced in 1843. In 1870 it stretched across the whole of India, from a point north of Attock, on the Indus, to the Mahanadi, on the border of Madras, a distance of 2500 miles. It consisted of an impenetrable hedge of thorny bushes and trees, supplemented in places by a stone wall or a ditch and earth mound. It was guarded and patrolled, night and day, by a force of 14000 officers and men." Hadrian's palisade must also have been intended mainly to ensure the control of all traffic crossing the frontier. Of the regulations imposed on such traffic we get some idea from ancient writers. Tacitus (*Germ.* 41) speaking of the exceptional privileges granted to the Hermunduri : "non in ripa commercium sed penitus ... passim sine custode transeunt."—[Their traffic is not confined to the bank (of the upper Danube) but they penetrate far into the province (of Raetia) without being subject to any control.]

Persons coming from outside could only cross at certain points, usually guarded by a fort or watch-tower. No one might cross carrying arms, and duties were levied on imported goods. At the points of ingress markets seemed to have been frequently estab-

lished, the place and time being no doubt fixed, as they were in the second century on the Danube, by the Roman government (Dio, 73, 2). The Germans were to meet only once a month, at a fixed place and under the supervision of a Roman centurion.*

A striking commentary upon the purpose of the Palisade is Mommsen's opinion of the Pfahlgraben and the Teufelsmauer, the continuous works which superseded it. At the time of writing (the English translation is dated 1886), the remains of the Palisade had not been discovered. He, however, accepted Spartianus's description as evidence that it had probably existed upon the German frontier. Though the word "military" is used in his estimate of the object of these later lines, the whole passage conveys the impression that primarily they too were not defensive, but frontier police barriers :—

The idea of a frontier-bar was common to the two structures, otherwise so different . . . † It was common to them, further, that neither the one nor the other was constructed for the defence, as a whole, of the frontier. Not merely was the hindrance, which the piling up of earth or stone presented to the assailant, slight in itself ; but along the line we meet everywhere with commanding positions, morasses, lying in the rear, a want of outlook towards the country in front, and similar clear indications of the fact that in the tracing of it warlike purposes generally were not contemplated. The forts are of course arranged for defence . . . The intention rather was, that, like the bridges over the river-frontier so the roads on the land-frontier should be commanded by the forts, but in other respects, like the river as the water-boundary, so the wall on the landward should hinder the uncontrolled crossing of the frontier. ‡

No sooner does the reasonableness of this alternative explanation of Hadrian's special work on the frontier of Britain become apparent, in the light of the German analogy, than the question arises how the disposition to-

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* *Ibid.* pp. 200—202. Cf. Macdonald, *Roman Wall in Scotland*, pp. 64-72 and 389-395.

† The Pfahlgraben, an earth mound and ditch, in the Taunus and Neckar-Main sectors ; and the Teufelsmauer, a low stone wall, in the Raetian sector.

‡ Mommsen, *Provinces*, Dickson's translation, i, pp. 156-7.

wards ideas of defence developed and came to govern the whole outlook of earlier scholars?

There is no doubt that an incorrect interpretation of the political, or imperial setting of these records of work on the frontiers is responsible for the mistaken emphasis.

The explanation of this incorrect interpretation is an entirely satisfactory one. It has nothing to do with lack of scholarship, but only with lack of knowledge, which advancing research, historical and archaeological, alone could supply. To quote Professor Pelham again, writing in 1898:—

It is only within the last twenty or thirty years that the "ceaseless researches of science" have not merely produced new evidence, but in doing so have rendered intelligible much that was before difficult to understand. One result has been to place in our hands the clue to Hadrian's policy as ruler of the empire, and to enable us to gauge more correctly the direction of his aims and the importance of his achievements (*Essays*, VII, "Hadrian," p. 160).

The most important record of events at the time of Hadrian's accession is another well-known statement of Spartianus, of which the following is a literal translation:—

For while those nations which Trajan had subdued were falling away, the Moors were harassing the Empire, the Sarmatians were waging war, the Britons could not be held under the Roman sway, Egypt was harassed with revolts, and Libya and Palestine were in a state of disaffection. And so he gave up all beyond the Euphrates and Tigris following, as he said, the example of Cato, who proclaimed the Macedonians free because they could not be guarded (*Life of Hadrian*, 5, 2).

Imperfect knowledge of the later developments of these local troubles is responsible for the older view of their moulding effect upon Hadrian's general frontier policy.

A typical explanatory enlargement of the above passage and its supposed connections, according to the older viewpoint, is that given by Dr. Bruce:—

On the death of Trajan, A.D. 117, Hadrian was proclaimed Emperor. He at once renounced the sovereignty of the countries east of the Euphrates. This did not altogether relieve him from

the difficulties of his position. The Jews, not only in Palestine but throughout the world, were in a state of revolt; Egypt was agitated by seditions, and the Moors manifested a rebellious spirit. Britain too, soon began to exhibit symptoms of disaffection. Julius Severus, who had previously held with firmness the reins of government in Britain, was withdrawn from the island in order to subdue the revolt of the Jews. He probably took with him such native troops as had been inured to Roman discipline. To this cause, as Salmasius suggests [in a note of this part of Spartian's *Life of Hadrian*, p. 25, ed. Lug. Bat. 1661], the rising in Britain was probably to be attributed. The pressure of a heavy hand having been withdrawn, the national discontent rose to the surface....

Towards the close of the year 119, Hadrian came himself to Britain .... He was led to this step not only by the necessity of using the most vigorous measures in order to crush the rebellion in Britain, but by the impulse of his own active habits, and a desire to examine personally every part of his wide dominions (*Roman Wall*, 1867, pp. 11-12).

How readily would such a picture of almost universal trouble, unrelieved by any hint of a speedy reversal of fortune, lead to the conclusion that Hadrian's policy of withdrawal, precise delimitation, and consolidation, instead of being freely based on considerations of far-seeing statesmanship, was a confession of weakness, a policy of mere defence, forced upon him by the two-fold pressure of external enemies and internal exhaustion, intensified by his supposed lack of ability in the sphere of real leadership.

The further deduction, that such a policy should issue in the provision of frontier defences additional to the normal chain of forts, in the form of a continuous rampart, is an almost inevitable step.

Not only is the re-colouring of the picture possible in the light of the fuller evidence, but the complete re-drawing also of that part which most concerns the Vallum, the sequence of events in Britain. From Dr. Bruce's statement, it is evident that, according to the general understanding of the historical material then available, the facts of the situation were believed to be as follows:—

(1) That Julius Severus was Governor of Britain *before* Hadrian's arrival;
(2) that the revolt of the Jews, which, as recorded by Dio, Severus subdued, was one and the same event as that referred to by Spartianus; and
(3) that the rising in Britain (following the departure of Severus) directly led to the coming of Hadrian to deal with the *military* situation personally.

It is now known with certainty that the first two of these assumptions are incorrect. In Hadrian's reign, there were two Jewish revolts, separated by a period of nearly fifteen years; and it was in order to quell the *second* that Julius Severus, then Governor, was withdrawn from Britain. This second revolt is attributed by Dio to the foundation of a colony at Jerusalem by Hadrian, during his second eastern journey, A.D. 130. The actual outbreak took place in 132, after his departure for Rome.

That the third assumption is also incorrect appears to be equally certain, though the proof cannot perhaps be so conclusively stated. The date of Hadrian's arrival in Britain is certainly not the autumn of 119, but most probably the spring of 122, five years after his accession. On the third assumption, the outbreak in Britain must have taken place not long before Hadrian's arrival, and therefore, in any case, some years after his accession. The evidence is, however, wholly against any such conclusion.

The only fair construction that can be placed upon the statement of Spartianus quoted above, is that he was describing the state of affairs *at the time of Hadrian's accession*. Trouble in the various provinces was, therefore, already afoot before the death of Trajan. The only way in which the theory of Hadrian's personal connection with the British rising can be reconciled with Spartianus is by prolonging the revolt from 117, or 118 at the latest, until 122. Such a solution conveys just that impression of Hadrian's besetment on every hand, and of his inability,

owing to lack of resources or initiative, to deal energetically with the situation, which was the background of the older view.

The theory of inability simply collapses before the facts, hinted at even by Spartianus, as revealed by research. The outstanding example is that of Turbo, whom Hadrian, on his accession in 117, had sent to quell the revolts, chiefly of the Jews, in Egypt and Libya. Before the close of the year, that task was accomplished, and he was on his way to deal with the Moorish rising. By the beginning of the following summer, 118, we find him already in command on the Danube—having disposed of three of these affairs within a year! Such a record is surely a sufficient testimony to the energy of Hadrian's administration.

Further, in Spartianus's description of Hadrian's visit to Britain, the phrases (1) "where he corrected many things," and (2) "when he had put the affairs of the province in order," convey the impression of civil administration rather than military operations.

Fortunately, however, we are not dependent solely upon such an argument: the evidence of coins appears to be unmistakably convincing. Belonging to a series dateable to the period 119—121 at latest, is a group of three coins bearing the following inscriptions:—(1) Britannia: (2) Victoria Augusti; and (3) Concordia Exercituum.* As there is no record of fighting elsewhere than in Britain, for some years after 118 the identification of Britain with the place where the victory was gained is obvious; while the phrase "Concordia Exercituum" appears to be a remarkable commentary on the co-operation of Vexillations of the VIIth Legion, from Spain, and of the VIIIth and XXIInd Legions from Upper Germany, with the British legions in the campaign, the record of which is given by a well-known inscription.† Since this group of coins commemorates

* Cohen, ed. 2, vol. ii., 197, 1462-3, 268.
† Dessau 2726: C.I.L., x, 5829.

events not later than 121, the war must have been over by that date at the latest. In any case, their evidence is entirely favourable to the view that Hadrian arrived some time *after* its conclusion.

An interpretation of events in Britain, adequate to the evidence thus briefly reviewed, must be made and judged in the light of an authoritative re-statement of the Hadrianic position as a whole. That Professor Pelham's Introduction to the English translation of Gregorovius's *The Emperor Hadrian*, states the viewpoint of modern scholarship with authority is acknowledged. In the course of that essay, the old view and the new are contrasted in the following striking terms :—

Hadrian has unquestionably suffered in general reputation by the fate which placed him between two such commanding figures as Trajan and Marcus Aurelius. By the side of the former Hadrian appeared timid and commonplace. As Trajan became the ideal Roman soldier Hadrian was represented as the peace-loving scholar who in tastes and pursuits was more Greek than Roman. Yet Hadrian was every inch a soldier, deeply versed in both the theory and the practice of the art of war ; and if he was a lover of Greeks and Greek civilization, he was also an admirer of old Roman writers and fashions. On the other hand, Marcus Aurelius justly ranks above him as a man, and holds a place in literature, and in the history of human thought to which Hadrian has no claim.

But viewed as a statesman, as the ruler of a great empire, Hadrian stands higher than either Trajan or Marcus. He is more truly representative of his time, and he left a deeper mark upon it. Above all, it was he and not they who shaped the policy of the empire, and shaped it in accordance with ideas which, if not new, were first clearly conceived and effectively carried out by him.

For Hadrian's policy was not the result of a scholar's love of peace, or of cosmopolitan tastes, or even of mere restlessness. It was directed by one dominant idea, the influence of which is everywhere traceable. This master idea was, to use a modern expression, the imperial idea (*Reichsidee*)—the conception of the empire, as a single well-compacted state, internally homogeneous, and standing out in clear relief against surrounding barbarism. The realization of this conception was the object for which Hadrian laboured. If he refused to follow Trajan in his forward policy, it

was not from timidity, or, as Gregorovius seems to think, from a scholarly love of peace and quiet. Indeed, as I have hinted, the contrast so often drawn between Trajan the man of war and Hadrian the man of peace, the Romulus and Numa of the second century, is somewhat misleading. Hadrian was anxious for peace, not in order to secure leisure for peaceful pursuits, but because the empire needed it, and he abandoned a policy of conquest in the conviction that the empire had reached its natural limits, and required not expansion but consolidation.

In this belief he set himself to give the empire, what it had only imperfectly possessed before, definite and well-marked frontiers. The lines of demarcation which thus 'separated the barbarians' from Roman territory he protected by a system of frontier defences, which was no doubt developed by his successors, but the idea and plan of which were unquestionably his; and to hold these defences he maintained a frontier force, the efficiency of which was his constant care. We are too apt in thinking of Hadrian's travels, to picture them only as the restless wanderings of a connoisseur from one famous site to another in the peaceful provinces of the interior and to forget how large a portion of his time was spent, not in Athens or Smyrna, but in reviewing the troops and inspecting the stations along the whole line of the imperial frontier (*Essays*, VII, 1898, pp. 160—162).

Such a judgment contains not a hint of weakness, imperial or personal, upon which a theory of mere defence can be founded. Rather we see a statesman, conscious of his own strength, planning and putting into operation a policy, the express purpose of which was the checking, once and for all, of the dangerous and wasteful craving for imperial expansion, so marked a characteristic of the ruling class of which he himself was a member.

That Hadrian's policy was as certainly a "barring in" of his own people, as it was a "barring out" of the barbarians, Professor Haverfield also believed. Upon this point his estimate in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, already quoted in full above, leaves no room for doubt:—

The meaning of the scheme is equally certain ..... It was now declared, not by the secret resolutions of cabinets but by the work of the spade, marking the solid earth forever, that the era of conquest was ended (Ed. XI, vol. iv, p. 584).

Is not the construction of a spectacular Frontier Mark such as the Vallum, a more logical and therefore more likely outcome of such a policy than the erection of a continuous rampart, which involved a radical alteration in the hitherto accepted frontier practice, substituting continuous patrol of an effective obstacle for intermittent patrol of open country between isolated forts?

Here again we are, fortunately, not limited to *a priori* considerations, to arguments from Hadrian's personality and policy, in order rightly to understand his works, for the invaluable results of comparative research—the undeveloped state of which expresses, in a word, the disadvantage under which our great North Country pioneers of archaeology always laboured—are becoming available for the guidance of their successors in ever-increasing volume.

At this stage of the discussion, the comparative survey of Roman frontier works, by the second-named of the present writers, which forms an appendix to this paper, may be studied with advantage.

Increasing knowledge of the frontier works as a whole, emphasises the fact that the Great Wall (*i.e.* the Tyne and Solway Wall of Stone, with its forts and subsidiary works) exhibits the fullest development of defensive efficiency.

Even in the case of the Great Wall, however, as Mr. R. G. Collingwood has recently so clearly demonstrated,* the element of real defensive significance is represented neither by the elevated rampart-walk,† though this, by greatly

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* "The Purpose of the Roman Wall," the *Vasculum*, viii, no. 1, pp. 4-9: Andrew Reid and Co., Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

† *Ibid.* p. 5. "The rampart walk cannot have been more than three or four feet broad, and that is a very narrow fighting-front. There would be barely room for a man to pass behind the actual firing line; no room, if the 'firing' line consisted of men throwing, with the necessary freedom of gesture, a heavy six-foot pilum. It would be practically impossible to reinforce a threatened point, even in the most favourable conditions: wholly impossible to move wounded men. And a few corpses, or a couple of Caledonians who had effected an escalade, would block the walk entirely. For the walk could only be reached

increasing the outlook, would afford the sentries an invaluable opportunity of obtaining early information of enemy movements, nor by the greatness of the obstacle presented by the rampart and ditch, but by its relation to the forts and milecastles.

Omitting Carvoran and Chesterholm as belonging to the earlier Stanegate chain, the forts, with the single exception of Castlesteads, and the milecastles without exception, are in actual contact with the continuous rampart. At each of these points, where troops were permanently stationed, was a gateway giving access to the country *beyond* the Wall.* There alone could the defence of the frontier be effectively undertaken by troops whose training and equipment, during the second century at any rate, were unsuited to a static defensive.

In such operations, the rampart and ditch, by appreciably delaying the advance of a large enemy force and by breaking up its concentration—the work of the " centre " in a delaying action—would prove a valuable factor in the development of enveloping movements by the " flanks "—the garrisons of the nearest pair of forts, or milecastles. But, though the efficiency of the Wall (*i.e.* the rampart and ditch), considered as a defensible obstacle in actual warfare, has been generally overestimated, as a patrollable obstacle, for the prevention of smuggling, minor raiding and thieving in times of peace, its efficiency, in view of the strength of the patrolling force stationed in the milecastles and turrets, must have been well-nigh perfect.

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from the ground at the turrets, and these were 500 yards apart. Let anyone try to imagine a front-line trench during an attack with the conditions that the ' trench ' is a wall-top 15 feet from the ground and that access can only be had at points 500 yards apart, the turrets taking the place of communication trenches ; and he will recognize the impossibility of fighting on the Wall in the traditional way."

* In the possession of such a wealth of facilities for defensive initiative, the Great Wall, with fully 100 fortified gateways in its course of 73½ miles, is approached only by the Wall of Antoninus, and the Dobruja *limes*.

This peace-time function of the Wall was, however, equally one of the two functions of the Vallum. Further, in the exercise of this function* the Wall obviously superseded the Vallum.

If the test of efficiency as a *physical* barrier is applied to the Vallum, there is no need to enquire why it was superseded: the contrast between the two works is so glaring that, for adequate expression, the closing words of Dr. Neilson's estimate of the *military* value of the Vallum, already quoted in that connection on page 355, may well be repeated:—"When this standard is applied . . . the ineptitude of the work (is) so manifest that it shrinks from the ordeal of comparison"!

Why then was a work so impressive as the Vallum, yet so completely ineffective as a *physical* barrier, ever constructed? It is altogether improbable that such a standard of efficiency was for a moment in the mind of its designer.

There is one explanation of the principle of its design which has the support of a remarkable historical analogy. In explaining the weakness of the position of VETERA (Xanten), the headquarters of the army of Lower Germany, Tacitus points out "that Augustus never contemplated the possibility of its being attacked by the Germans" (Pelham, *Essays*, VIII, p. 166, footnote [2]: Tacitus, *Hist.* 4, 23). This does not imply the total absence of Germans from the neighbourhood, but that Augustus relied upon the moral effect of Roman military prestige to deter the Germans from making an attack. The regulations recorded by Dio and other writers, already referred to on page 380, prove that reliance was still placed upon that moral effect in the second century, on the Rhine and Danube frontiers.

Did Hadrian, overestimating the completeness of his British victory, decide that its moral (and material) effect

* But not that of the Boundary (see below, p. 425).

upon the northern tribes, together with the normal physical factor, the chain of forts, would ensure the security of the frontier?

One outstanding fact supports the view that the Vallum and its forts represent an original scheme designed to meet theoretical requirements, the first expression of Hadrian's idea of finally fixed frontiers. In the case of the Vallum, alone of all the frontier works, the forts are placed *outside* the actual boundary. That this was done intentionally has already been shown (p. 366). Such an arrangement seems to indicate a legal line of demarcation between the areas of civil and military administration, between the province and a belt of cleared country in military occupation. It is not essential that such a boundary work should present an obstacle in the military sense.

The earliest recorded instance of a Frontier Boundary Mark is that of Scipio, which separated the old province of Africa from the allied state of Numidia. It consisted simply of a ditch, and appears to have had no military significance whatever (Pelham, *op. cit.*, p. 165). That this ditch still existed in the time of Vespasian, and was re-utilised in the delimitation of the later province (*Ibid.*, pp. 165, footnote[3], 169, footnote [3]), affords a satisfactory reason for the adoption of such a device by Hadrian to mark an imperial boundary.

One question remains: it concerns Spartianus's description of Hadrian's work in Britain as "murus." Whatever his inaccuracies, would not such a work as the Vallum have been described by him as "fossa"?

No doubt the details of the gradual development of the frontier works in Britain during Hadrian's reign found their way into the government archives, but there is no evidence that such details ever appeared in a contemporary history. In that case, only the final development of the works—the Great Wall—would be known to Spartianus, writing nearly two hundred years after the event.

With the statement of the evidence, direct and indirect, upon which a judgment as to the purpose and date of the Vallum must be formed, the object of the first part of this paper has been almost attained. Thus far, however, the term "date" has been used relatively. The fact that there is no further evidence which would assist in ascertaining the actual date without further delay, is an indication of the point which has now been reached in the progress of general research.

The time-limits between which the Vallum was constructed appear to be no longer really in doubt. The possibility that Spartianus was in error in stating that Hadrian constructed the earliest continuous line is an old suggestion, which left the earlier limit in complete uncertainty. The new and convincing statement by Dr. George Macdonald,* of the evidence bearing upon the duration of the earliest Roman occupation of Scotland, enables us to dismiss such a suggestion finally. Dr. Macdonald has now shown that the evidence from the great forts situated upon Dere Street and its northern continuation—Newstead, Camelon, Ardoch and Inchtuthil—is entirely favourable to the conclusion that the occupation was practically continuous from Agricola's governorship, until about 115—117. It ended with some great disaster, presumably to the IXth Legion somewhere in the northern territory, which led to a complete withdrawal.

Evidence from the forts at Haltwhistle Burn (1908) and Throp (1910) at last becomes coherent in the light of the new Dere Street facts, and indicates that the withdrawal was to the line of the Stanegate, which was transformed from a normal road-line, with a few widely-separated posts upon it, to a regular line of defence, by the addition of further forts between those already existing.

That, after thus digging themselves in on this line, the

* "The Agricolan Occupation of North Britain," *Journal of Roman Studies* ix, pp. 111 ff.

available troops successfully held on, though not, perhaps, without real difficulty,* until help arrived, is proved by the fact that neither Haltwhistle Burn (*Ibid.* p. 275) nor Throp (these *Transactions*, N.S. xiii, pp. 373, 379) produced the evidence of destruction by enemy action invariably found in the Wall forts, milecastles, and turrets. The Haltwhistle Burn evidence proved, further, that the fort was purposely dismantled, either before the arrival of the Sixth Legion in 122, or actually by that Legion, during the course of its work on the Wall (*Arch. Ael.* 3rd ser., v, pp. 214, 234, 275). Evidence of date stops at this point.

It will hardly be suggested that Hadrian's policy of delimitation would not be put into operation before his arrival. If he were a statesman, his policy must have evolved in the years preceding his accession, and especially during the Parthian War, when he was faced with the obvious failure of Trajan's policy of expansion. That Hadrian inspected the African frontier *after* the completion of new defence works is the best testimony against any such suggestion.

The Stanegate being the temporary frontier during the open warfare following the disaster about 115—117, the erection of the new chain of forts in association with the Vallum must surely have followed the conclusion of the war. The coin evidence, already quoted above, implies that the war was well over in 121. How much earlier it was actually concluded is the crux of the new problem. It is not impossible that the punitive expedition was north of the Cheviots before 121 in the territory shortly to be abandoned, and that, in the rear, work on the new line, the Vallum and its forts, was already well in hand. If the coin evidence could be carried back to its earliest possible limit, *i.e.* 119 (Cos. III), the building of the forts and the

* As indicated by the building-up of the east gate at Haltwhistle Burn: *Arch. Ael.* 3rd. ser., v, pp. 240, 276.

survey of the Vallum's course could reasonably be assigned to as early a date as 118.*

The later time-limit is more certainly known. The Stone Wall and, we must conclude, the Turf Wall, were built after 122, and not later than 126 or 127.† At most, therefore, a period of eight or nine years would appear to have intervened between the construction of the Boundary and the Rampart.

The most difficult of the historical problems now presents itself. The accumulating evidence of research has been seen, on the one hand to be uniformly unfavourable to theories of unity of design between the Vallum and the Wall, and, on the other, uniformly favourable not only to the explanation of the Vallum and its forts as Hadrian's original frontier scheme, but to a radical modification of that scheme, by the building of the Wall, before ten years had passed!

Is there any evidence of circumstances adequate to the bringing about, in so short a time, of so momentous a change in the method of ensuring the security of the frontier? There is, at the present time, no epigraphical evidence of such a development, nor, of course, any clear reference, or inference from history. Fronto's allusion to the heavy losses sustained by the Roman army in Britain during the reign of Hadrian may well cover other frontier operations than those in progress at the beginning of his reign, but the reference is otherwise quite indefinite and can afford no positive assistance (*Ep. de bello Parthico.* Ed. Naber, pp. 217 f.).

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* As the small facing-stones at Haltwhistle Burn fort would be of no use for the Great Wall, we may conclude that the fort was dismantled when the original fort at Great Chesters (Aesica) was built: and that the quarry near the west rampart was opened by a working party of the Sixth Legion not long afterwards.

† The governorship of Platorius Nepos, which began in 122, cannot have terminated later than 127. His name appears on identical inscriptions from four milecastles (C.I.L. vii, 660, 661, 662, 663).

Only one deduction can be made from the evidence, that events, of which there is at present no record, compelled the building of the Wall; and only one explanation of such compulsion can be given, namely, pressure from beyond the frontier.

The accuracy of this hypothesis can at once be tested by the spade. If the pressure on the frontier so increased as to necessitate the change from an intermittent to a continuous patrol, an increase in the forces holding the frontier would be inevitable. Of that increase, evidence either of enlarged accommodation in the existing forts, or of additional forts, should be forthcoming.

The exceptional position and planning of Drumburgh have already been adduced in support of the original isolation of the forts within the limits of the Vallum (p. 375). But this did not exhaust the evidential value of Drumburgh. The fact that the existing forts were not reconstructed with right-angle junctions when the Wall was built, affords the strongest grounds for concluding that Drumburgh did not exist before the Wall, but represents an additional fort rendered necessary by the final increase in the frontier garrison consequent upon its erection.

Little more than a beginning has been made with the investigation of the early history of the forts contemporaneous with the Vallum. But though work has been confined to only two sites, Birdoswald (AMBOGLANNA) (these *Transactions*, O.S. xv, p. 172) and Chesters (CILURNUM) (*Ibid.* N.S. i, p. 84), the results obtained are of the greatest importance. Both forts have been enlarged from about three acres (or less), to five and a half acres and five and a quarter acres respectively. The significance of this fact is now apparent, for, as described above (p. 370), the fort at Birdoswald *thus enlarged* has been laid out quite independently of the Stone Wall, and yet *later* than the Vallum. Further, the remarkable agreement between the two plans, which made it difficult to avoid the conjecture

that Chesters likewise had existed as an enlarged fort independently of the Wall, has proved to be a true index of the situation. In October, 1921, the west ditch of the *enlarged* fort was found to underlie the Great Wall at the main west gateway (*Proceedings, S.A. Newcastle*, 3 ser., x, p. 216).

The present evidence points to an intermediate stage in the development of the defences, to an increase in the strength of the frontier garrisons without any modification in the general method of defence. The natural inference from such a development is that the garrisons of the original forts very soon proved to be unequal to the task of maintaining the boundary frontier inviolate, and that an increased garrison, still located in the same forts (which were enlarged), was the first remedy applied.

Is it unreasonable to suggest that here is the first hint of what followed, that this remedy failed because it was applied merely as a further concentration at the same widely-separated points? By still leaving wide spaces between the forts without *permanent* guard, it not only failed to check, but perhaps, by increasing the sporting risk attached to "getting across," actually aggravated, the development of that propensity among the tribes beyond the Vallum—not for serious attack upon strong points, but for *raiding*—which became the settled habit of life of their mediaeval successors upon the Border!

Further, the accounts of the campaign of Severus given by Dio and Herodian, bear unmistakable testimony to their possession, in an uncommon degree, of that other quality of the Border raider, elusiveness in retreat (Dio 76, 13; Herodian iii, 46).

Given persistent raiding and successful retirement, the rapid development of a situation which would satisfy both the "unknowns," (1) the absence of historical record, and (2) the cause of so great a development of the frontier system, becomes feasible. While, on the one hand, elusive-

ness in retreat implies an absence of such serious fighting as could alone have given adequate cause for comment in the meagre records which have survived; on the other, persistent raiding, demonstrating the absolute necessity for numerous small posts between the forts, admits the possibility of a decision—by that Emperor who ranks second to none as the author of great building schemes—to end the trouble once and for all, by the construction, not only of the intermediate posts, but also of a continuous Rampart Wall.

At this point the matter must rest for the moment: and, it is to be hoped, for the moment only, until the recovery of the early history of the forts can be seriously undertaken.

Part II. The Crossings.

The Evidence of the Remains.

In turning to the question of the Crossings, it is evident, owing to the recent date of their discovery and the consequent unfamiliarity of archaeologists with their details, that adequate consideration of their purpose and date is dependent upon further information from two sources:—

(1) A fuller description of the surface remains of the system than that which served, at the commencement of this paper, as an introduction to a re-survey of the general subject of the Vallum.

(2) A summary of the results of recent research directed to the explanation of the lack of uniformity in those remains, which is as marked a feature of the Crossings as it is of the general cross-section of the earthwork.

The variation of the cross-section between two, three and four mounds has already been described, with the explanation which research has provided.

The surface remains of the Crossings fall into four main divisions of which the following features are characteristic and the order, in the light of research, chronological:—

(1) The construction of the Crossings has been begun, but not completed. Where such conditions obtain, the Vallum shows no signs of subsequent alteration.

(2) The Crossings have been completed and exist to-day, complete and undisturbed. Under these conditions the Vallum still shows no signs of subsequent alteration.

(3) The complete Crossings no longer exist: the gaps remain in both mounds, but the causeways across the Ditch are absent. There is a marked increase in the size of the Ditch, compared with the cases covered by divisions 1 and 2, and the marginal mound is *invariably* present.

(4) The details characteristic of division 3 are reproduced with one exception, that no gaps are visible in the north mound. In addition, there is a marked difference in size between the north and south mounds, the former being the larger.

The description of the above as "main" divisions is intended to imply that they are not clear-cut and invariable, but include cases not only of subdivision, but of overlapping.* Such exceptional combinations of details, which are not amenable to simple classification, will be described in conjunction with the nearest "standard" examples.

That the Crossings are not original features of the Val-

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* This fact may prejudice the minds of some who have not seen the actual remains. To such it may appear only too reasonable to conclude that a claim to the discovery of a coherent system among such apparently diverse indications, is in reality only a piece of archaeological romance, in which free rein has been given to the imagination! No better safeguard against such a prejudgment could be advanced than the experience of Dr. George Macdonald. In April, 1921, Dr. Macdonald saw the remains of the Crossings for the first time and inspected both their regular and exceptional features, from Appletree to East Wallhouses, a distance of over 30 miles. At the conclusion of his inspection, he not only expressed his conviction that the remains are those of a continuous system, but ventured to prophecy a certain result, based upon that unity of purpose, from a forthcoming excavation, a prediction confirmed six weeks later by the results.

lum, but later modifications, has been already inferred in the introduction to Part I (p. 354, last par.), and again on page 365, last par. This fact has been practically self-evident since the original discovery, that of the systematic arrangement of the gaps. The following quotation from the first published account of that discovery, records the observation of a feature the significance of which could hardly have been misinterpreted :—

The mounds have certainly had an unbroken longitudinal section originally, for the material removed from the gaps can generally be traced on the surface (these *Transactions*, N.S. xiii, p. 395).

From that quotation the question inevitably arises whether, through any part of its course, the construction of the Crossings has *never been undertaken*, and consequently where the earthwork still exists in its original form ?

Only one such instance has been observed up to the present time, a description of which properly precedes that of the later developments.*

From the west boundary of Combe Crag Wood, for about 800 yards westward (C. XII, 11 and 15), the north and south mounds, except for disturbance obviously due to natural causes,† or to recent human agency, are unbroken longitudinally. The Ditch is also uninterrupted, apart from partial filling here and there clearly due to the same causes. There are no signs of a marginal mound.

The form of the earthwork in this sector is represented by the model in fig. 3.

The marginal mound belongs chronologically to divisions 3 and 4 of the remains of the Crossings, and the above reference to its absence at a point where the earthwork appears to survive in its original form, and where the presence of any feature of later date would seem to be a

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* In the following descriptions the references in the text are to the Ordnance Survey maps, 25 inch scale, Edition 1921-22 in the case of Northumberland (N) and Edition 1900 in that of Cumberland (C).

† *E.g.*, the passage of the Piper Sike, a small tributary of the Irthing.

contradiction in terms, may appear to be irrelevant and misleading. Though this mound is the record of much more, historically, than a mere incident—the clearing of the bottom of the Ditch at an unknown date subsequent to its construction—yet it may actually represent no more than the carrying out of that minor operation, at certain points *where nothing further needed to be done.* As such it could have appeared in this sector without in any way invalidating the conclusion that the earthwork here shows no sign of modification by the construction, partial or complete, of the Crossings.

Mrs. T. H. Hodgson has informed the writers that no trenches were cut across the Vallum between Combe Crag Wood and Bankshead by the Cumberland Excavation Committee. It is possible, therefore, that in this sector, excavation may reveal the existence of a small amount of material disposed along the south edge of the Ditch above the original surface. Such a diminutive marginal mound would represent a few shovelsful of rain-washed material and vegetable growths removed from an otherwise well-preserved length of the Ditch, at the same time that a much more considerable task had to be faced in other sectors.

Though the land has been ploughed, there is no reason to suspect that the gaps have existed and that all traces of them have been obliterated. It may be stated here, as the result of observation at many points, that evidence of the existence of gaps is remarkably persistent and appears to be lost only where cultivation has virtually obliterated the mound itself. Ploughing has not tended to fill up the gaps, but by reducing their boldly-rounded ends to enlarge them, producing a gentle switchback contour, which continued ploughing has left unchanged in outline while gradually reducing the height of the whole mound. The conclusion that the hollow representing the gap would, therefore, disappear only with the disappearance of the

mound is borne out by the state of the remains. A striking example of this persistence can be seen near Portgate, in an arable field (no. 46, N. XCII, 1).

How far this unaltered form of the earthwork continues beyond the limits named above is at present uncertain. It cannot extend eastward further than the Wall Burn, because the gaps again appear on the east side of that stream (these *Transactions*, N.S. xiii, p. 395). Between the Wall Burn and Combe Crag Wood, and particularly westward from the field no. 378 (C. XII., 15) to Banks, the land has been more thoroughly cultivated and the state of preservation is consequently such that the surface remains yield no reliable information. On Hare Hill the conditions are definitely those of division 3.

The classified remains of the Crossings may now be described.

DIVISION I.

In three sectors, a number of consecutive Crossings have been observed in an incomplete state which is clearly due, not to subsequent alteration as in the cases covered by divisions 3 and 4, but to the fact that the work of construction has never been finished. Though these unfinished Crossings may, in point of time, represent the last phase of the work in a particular sector, of much greater importance are the facts that at these points the Vallum appears in a condition approximating more nearly to its original form and the remains afford some information of the way in which the whole scheme was planned and the work carried out. For these reasons the unfinished Crossings should properly be placed in the earlier of the two divisions covering their construction.

The best example of the incomplete stage is to be seen on Wallend Common, half a mile north-west of Greenhead. The higher ground thereabouts has not been ploughed, and for about 210 yards in the field no. 295 (N. LXXXVIII, 7) the Vallum is very well preserved. The gaps appear in

both mounds at an average interval of 45 yards (the maximum variation being 4 yards).* The Ditch is extremely well-preserved and there are no causeways across it. At one point the edges have been broken down and the bottom partly filled, evidently in recent times. There are no signs of a marginal mound. What has been stated above regarding the absence of this mound west of Combe Crag Wood applies equally to this and to the second example.

The state of the Vallum (apart from the " spreading " at the gaps) is illustrated by the model as arranged in fig. 4.

The distance through which these conditions obtain is again doubtful. Down the slope to the west, cultivation begins and the course of the earthwork is practically obliterated. Eastward, for about 330 yards to the steep west side of the Tipalt valley, the land is lower and swampy and the Ditch is largely silted up. The mounds have sunk in the soft ground and have been further interfered with by draining, making accurate observation impossible.

The most striking feature in this sector is the treatment of the material removed from the mounds in forming the gaps. The general case of this feature will be considered under division 2. Here the gaps have been fully dug, practically down to the ground level, but never " cleaned up." In some cases the ends of the mound have been rounded off in the usual manner, but in others they have been left in the rough condition indicative of the first operation of heavy digging. All the material removed has been spread *outside* the Vallum, *i.e.* on the north from the north mound and on the south from the south mound, but instead of being carefully levelled down, as is the case elsewhere, it has been left lying about in small heaps just as it was thrown with the shovel from the mound, as indicated by the plan and section AB on fig. 5.

* The spacing of the Crossings in general is considered under the third example of division 1.

It is well to recall that similar evidence of unfinished work, relating not to the Vallum but to the ditch of the Great Wall, was noticed by the Rev. John Hodgson near Portgate.*

The second example is in the Wall Burn—High House sector, through which the Vallum, to quote Professor Haverfield, is "in astonishing preservation" (these *Transactions*, O.S. xiv, p. 187).

From a point 140 yards east of the Wall Burn, to the east side of the field no. 231 (C. XII, 12) on High House farm, a distance of over half a mile (beyond which point the mounds have been quite worn down by ploughing), the gaps are traceable in the north mound (*Ibid.*, N.S. xiii, p. 395). The depth of the majority of the gaps is about half the height of the mound, though some are distinctly shallower. In general, the gaps are more often dug down from one-half to two-thirds the height of the mound than to the ground level, and an average depth of half the mound is, therefore, in itself no evidence of incompletion. In the south mound, however, there are no gaps, though opposite those in the north mound there are several slight depressions, which probably indicate that the gaps were "marked off" but never dug.†

The Ditch is partly filled up at several points and, in more than one case, opposite gaps. As usual, the majority of these irregular interruptions are obviously of recent date. Some may be ancient, but, in any case, they bear

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* "The earth taken out of [the fosse] lies spread abroad to the north in lines just as the workmen wheeled it out and left it. The tracks of their barrows, with a slight mound on each side, remain unaltered in form" (*History of Northd.* pt. II, vol. iii, p. 276): quoted by Dr. Bruce (*Roman Wall*, 1867, p. 56), who further commented upon it as follows:—"As if the labourers had left the work but to obtain some refreshment, and were about to return to it" (p. 139).

Apart from the use of barrows, of which the irregular heaps at the gaps give no indication, these quotations exactly express the impression given by the unfinished Crossings at Wallend Common.

† This point is fully considered below under the third example.

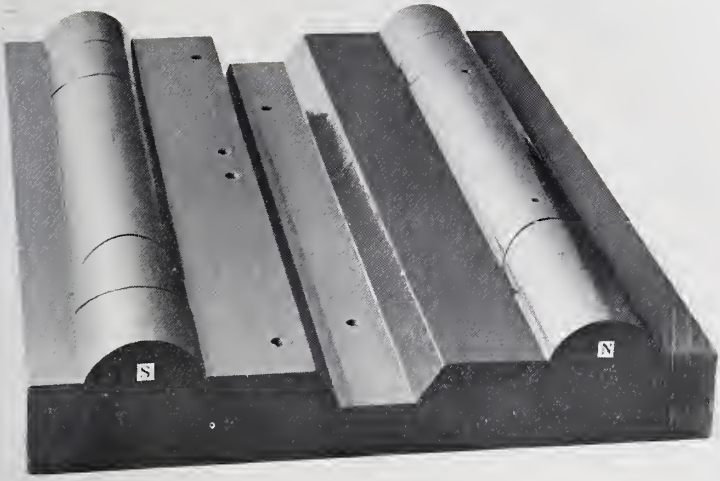

Fig. 3.—The Vallum as originally constructed.

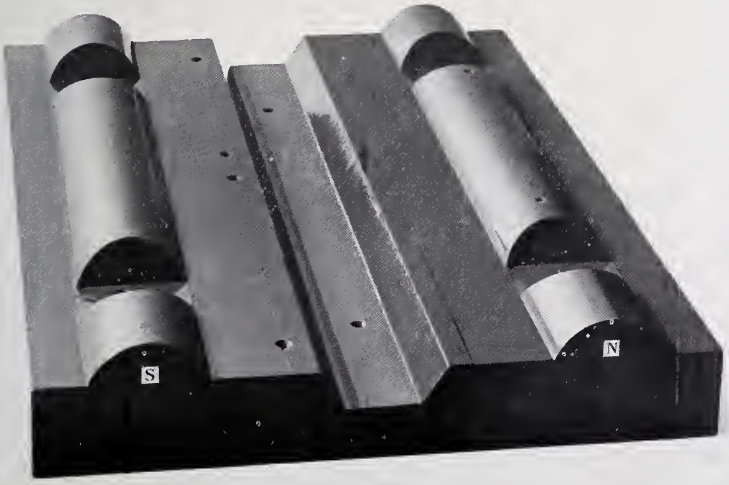

Fig. 4.—The unfinished Crossings at Wallend Common. Division I.

To face p. 402.

no resemblance whatever to the series of consecutive causeways to be described under division 2 of the remains. From the Wall Burn to High House Wood there is a small mound on the south berm. It has been described as the marginal mound (these *Transactions*, O.S. xiv, p. 189), but it is not in the normal position, being set back from the edge of the Ditch. For a short distance, there is a similar mound on the north berm. Between High House Wood and the east side of the field no. 231, however, there are no signs of the marginal mound.

This sector exhibits further a unique and significant feature, the occurrence, between the same limits, of gaps in the Turf Wall opposite those in the north mound (these *Transactions*, N.S. xiii, p. 395). The turf rampart is more worn down than the Vallum mounds owing to its less clayey composition.* The average distance between rampart and mound is only 50 feet. Opposite a number of the gaps, the south (*i.e.* the nearer) edge of the ditch of the Turf Wall is somewhat broken down and the ditch itself partly filled up.

These "causeways" have not yet been examined. They may prove to be composed of the turf dug out of the rampart, of the disposal of which there are no signs at the gaps. In that case their Roman date would be proved and they would afford further evidence of the unfinished character of the work in this sector, for in no instance is the ditch more than half filled, whereas the existing causeways across the Ditch of the Vallum have been at least level with the berms. The intimate connection between the gaps in the rampart and those in the north mound is, however, self-evident.

The third example is at Cawfields, where the Vallum attains a state of preservation unequalled at any other point throughout its course.† This sector, apart from the excep-

* And to intentional demolition? Cf. *Ibid.* O.S. xiv, p. 189.

† The land between the Wall and Wade's road has never been ploughed. It formed part of Haltwhistle Common, which was not enclosed until 1844.

tional condition of the south mound for 765 yards, is the most perfect example of the developments classified under division 3.

From a point south of Winshields, where the earthwork has largely sunk in marshy ground, for a mile and a half westward to the Haltwhistle Burn, where it is disturbed by quarrying and, beyond the Burn, obliterated by cultivation, the gaps occur continuously in the north mound.

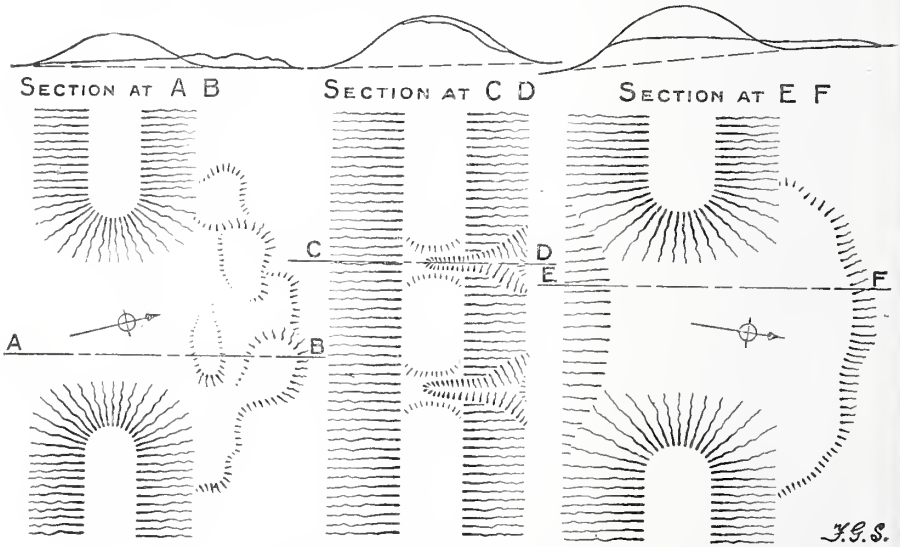

Fig. 5. DETAILS OF GAPS.

Eastward from Shield-on-the-Wall farm to the marsh, the south mound is worn down, but it is quite evident that the gaps were present originally. Westward, they appear exactly as in the north mound to a point (A) 180 yards west of the boundary between Cawfields and Shield-on-the-Wall farms, *i.e.* the fence between the fields nos. 7 and 214 (N. LXXXIX, 6). Here they cease abruptly, and the next fully developed gap* is 765 yards (*i.e.* 17 gap-intervals of 45 yards) further west, beyond which they continue without interruption to the point close to the Burn where both mounds are disturbed.

* From 30 to 35 feet long at the top and from 3 to 4 feet deep. Cf. plan and section E F on fig. 5.

At the next gap-position west of point A, *i.e.* exactly opposite the next gap in the north mound, instead of a similar large opening with boldly-rounded ends, are two v-shaped incisions extending from the crest of the mound down the north side, nearly 19 feet 6 inches apart, as indicated by the plan and section CD on fig. 5. Between these points the crest of the mound is unbroken. Of the following fifteen positions, at eight (four of which are consecutive) there is clear evidence of ancient disturbance. At one position recent disturbance prevents accurate observation, but at the remaining six (three of them consecutive) the crest of the mound is quite undisturbed.

The impression conveyed by this length of the south mound is that the positions of the gaps have been "marked off" throughout and the work of digging begun, not a gap at a time but at several simultaneously, and that within a few hours the work has been stopped and never resumed, leaving seven gaps half finished, two where digging had only just begun, and six positions at which work was never started. The remains illustrate the method of procedure. The positions were no doubt marked off along the mounds with a spade. Where nothing further has been done, such slight incisions must long ago have been obliterated. When digging began the two marks, representing the length of the opening, appear to have been deepened first, producing the rounded ends; the isolated portion of the mound between them has then been removed and the gap completed. The work at the first gap west of point A has evidently been left unfinished while the deepening of the original marks was in progress. Several gaps in both mounds between this point and the field wall are fully deepened at the ends but not in the middle, showing that the mound was never wholly levelled down.

The general measurements are equally clear. The distance between the two marks (about 19 feet 6 inches) is evidently 20 Roman feet, or 4 paces. The average distance from centre to centre (*i.e.* the interval) of 50 conse-

cutive gaps in this sector is 135 English or 140 Roman feet. Deducting 20 Roman feet for the gap, the length of mound left undisturbed between the gaps would be 120 Roman feet, or 24 paces.

The question of the spacing of the Crossings in general may be conveniently considered at this stage. The intervals are not *exactly* equal, *i.e.* they have evidently not been measured with a chain or tape. That they were *intended* to be equal, however, is demonstrated by a survey of the series of consecutive Crossings (complete and incomplete) which are still traceable. The following table contains particulars of the longest existing series, and of the four next in order of length, arranged geographically from east to west. Not one of the many shorter series exhibits features which are additional to, or in conflict with, those of the five tabulated.

SPACING OF CROSSINGS.

		Regular			*Exceptional*		
Sector	*Consecutive gaps traceable*	*No.*	*Interval (yards)*	*Maximum variation (yards)*	*No.*	*Interval (yards)*	*Remarks on Exceptions*
Down Hill ..	17	16	45	4	1	33	
Shield-on-the-Wall (East) — Coesike ..	28	20	46	4	1	62	
		followed by 7	51	4			
High Shield — Twice Brewed ..	17	16	53	3	1	59	
Shield-on-the-Wall (West) — Cawfields ..	50	46	45	3	3	52	Consecutive: maximum variation 4.
					1	37	
High House — Wall Burn ..	20	18	44	5	1 1	51 33	Consecutive: =42 × 2
	132	123			9		

In only nine cases out of 132, *i.e.* under 7 per cent., does the maximum variation exceed about 4 yards, or about 8 per cent. of the average interval, whereas the minimum variation in the exceptional cases is double that maximum. But a table of average figures really understates the position, for instances of a difference of 4 yards between consecutive intervals are almost as rare as the cases classed as exceptional. In the great majority of cases the variation is less than 2 yards. The actual measurements speak for themselves. The quotation of two examples, the highest and lowest maximum variations in the tabulated series, will serve the purpose of this paper :—

High House—Wall Burn : 42, 41, 43, 43, 43, 46, 47, 46, 46, 46, 51, 33, 43, 43, 44, 43, 43, 41, 44, 44.

High Shield—Twice Brewed : 54, 52, 53, 53, 54, 52, 52, 53, 53, 54, 54, 54, 53, 52, 55, 52, 59.

There appears to be only one explanation of such small yet persistent variations, namely, that the distances were measured by *pacing*.* There is one further point, that of the marked increase in the interval-length in the case of the third series. Even measurement by pacing can hardly account for an unvarying difference of 8 yards, or 5 Roman paces. The more probable explanation is that engineer officers in some sectors fixed a different length of interval. In this particular the third sector does not stand alone. The short series of seven intervals of 51 yards in the second sector may represent part of a much longer series. In the Hare Hill sector the intervals appear to measure over 50 yards, but have not yet been accurately surveyed.

Of the nine exceptional intervals, it is not difficult to account for those occurring in the first and fifth series of the above table. They appear to be errors in measurement. The 33 yards interval at Down Hill, where

* "The Roman Mile," P. Ross, A.M.I.C.E., these *Transactions*, N.S. xviii pp. 219—222 : *cf.* footnote, p. 222.

the earthwork makes a double turn in order to pass the hill, occurs in the north mound at the *inside* of the west turn. At the outside, the interval was naturally longer and probably measured 41 or 42 yards (the south mound is greatly worn down at that point). At the east turn, the shorter interval measures 41 yards and the longer 50 yards. If the longer interval at the west turn had also measured 50 yards the shorter would then have been of average length. Probably an average interval was paced out, but by mistake along the south instead of the north mound, reducing the length of the north interval to only 33 yards. The two unequal intervals in the fifth series are consecutive and together equivalent to twice the average interval: a remarkable coincidence—unless (and with greater probability) the explanation be that the double length was checked and corrected at the next position.

The three intervals (37, 59 and 62 yards), occurring singly in different sectors, are also easily explained as errors, but not so easily the three measuring about 7 yards longer than the average of the very regular fourth series, in the course of which they occur consecutively. They can hardly represent an ordinary error. If measurements were made by different working parties independently, odd lengths at the junctions would inevitably occur here and there. The spacing of these three intervals may represent the division of such an odd length ($3 \times 52 = 156$ yards) into three equal intervals, instead of into $2 \times 45 + 1 \times 66$.

Such an explanation has the following remarkable consequence. Only one series, the fourth, contains two distinct exceptions. The distance between them is 1461 yards. If the conjectured "odd length" of 156 yards be added, the total becomes 1617 yards, a Roman mile less one yard. Further, not only is the odd length at the *east* end of the mile, indicating that the measurements were

made in an eastward direction, but immediately *beyond* the west end is the second exceptional interval of 37 yards, which would similarly represent the odd length at the *east* end of another "milliary" sector. This calculation was first made while the second part of this paper was being written. Consequently nothing can be done before publication to verify the conjecture that each working party occupied a sector a Roman mile in length. It will, however, serve as a useful starting-point for further investigation.

It may be stated in conclusion that the cases of intervals which can be classed as exceptional met with during the course of a survey of the Vallum between the Wall Burn and Whittledean, a distance of nearly 31 miles, number about fifteen, nine of which have been included in the above table.

DIVISION 2.

Turning now to the second division of the remains, complete Crossings have been observed in four sectors:—(1) Carvoran, (2) Cockmount Hill, (3) Carrawburgh farm, and (4) Matfen Piers—East Wallhouses. Describing first the Cockmount Hill series, ten consecutive causeways across the Ditch are traceable south of the farmhouse in the field no. 54 (N. LXXXIX, 5), each directly in line with the gaps which appear continuously in both mounds. Four of the ten causeways, towards the west side of the field, are shown on fig. 8.

On the plan the gaps do not appear in the south mound, which has been partly levelled in order to carry a modern road (to Walltown). Shallow depressions remain, however, to mark their positions. A branch from this road, to Cockmount Hill farmhouse, crosses the Ditch on one of the causeways (which has been enlarged). The gaps at the west end of the north mound are similarly too shallow to be drawn to 25 inch scale. The abrupt impression of the causeways has been greatly impaired by the laying of a

tile-drain down the middle of the Ditch. Immediately to the south of the Vallum is a wide peat-moss, appearing on Warburton's map as a series of lakelets.

The causeways are of small dimensions and the tracks across them cannot have exceeded five or six feet in width. No provision has been made for through drainage, and the Ditch between them is consequently greatly silted up. It would appear that the causeways were originally somewhat higher than the berms, for in several cases a slight elevation is traceable from the causeways to the gaps. Some material from the gaps has also been spread outside the Vallum to form approaches. Throughout the length of the series there are no signs of the marginal mound.

Two trenches were cut in June, 1920, one at a causeway, and the other across the open Ditch. The first proved that the causeway was not original, by disclosing the sides and flat bottom of the Ditch continuing behind and below it. The causeway was composed of clean material, a boulder clay, similar to that through which the Ditch has been cut, and of which, therefore, the mounds are composed. Between the causeway-material and the bottom of the Ditch was a stratum less than two inches in thickness, better described as slimy than peaty because it contained a much greater proportion of rain-washed material from the sides than of vegetable growths.

The proportions are, of course, exactly the reverse of the above when a ditch has been open for a long period. As soon as grass has grown on the sides weathering practically ceases, the later accumulation representing vegetable growth and decay. This sequence was confirmed by the second trench. The same slimy stratum appeared at the bottom, but above it there was a gradual change into purely peaty material, the thickness of which, as might be expected in a position lacking an outlet, was excessive. The stratum below the causeway would, therefore, appear to represent a comparatively short period of time.

It had been suggested that when the causeway was made, the pressure due to its weight would cause some of the silt to be squeezed out sideways, rendering the existing stratum unreliable as an index of the lapse of time. Had water been standing in the Ditch, the silt would, no doubt, have been in a sufficiently fluid condition to have been so displaced. Water, however, could not possibly have stood at the point, which is on a *westward* slope. In practice, the pressure would be applied so gradually, the material being tipped in only a barrowful or basketful at a time, and the loose, dry upcast would tend so to absorb and hold any moisture, that the total effect would probably be small in the extreme.

The series ends at the west side of the field as shown on fig. 8, where the conditions change abruptly to those of division 3. The eastern termination is at present uncertain. The series cannot extend further than the Haltwhistle Burn, beyond which division 3 conditions also obtain.

(2) The Carvoran series numbers not more than six causeways. They are traceable along the three-sided deviation which the Vallum makes in order to circumvent the marshy ground immediately to the north of the fort (MAGNA). The gaps are present in both mounds. The causeways appear to have been slightly larger than at Cockmount Hill. The whole earthwork is somewhat worn down, and the slopes of the causeways are too slight to be inserted on the 25 inch O.S. map (N.LXXXVIII, 8). There is again no trace whatever of the marginal mound. About 110 yards beyond the east end of the deviation the mound is again visible: the gaps continue in both mounds, but the causeways are absent. How far the series continues to the west is at present unknown.

(3) The series at Carrawburgh farm is even shorter than that near Carvoran. Only four causeways are traceable, in the field no. 6 (N.LXXXI, 12). The series illustrates a

unique combination of the features characteristic of divisions 2, 3 and 4 (compare figs. 6, 7 and 10 with fig. 9). Close to the farmhouse the marginal mound, which is continuous to the eastward, terminates abruptly within 30 yards of the most easterly of the causeways. This change to division 3 conditions is described under that division of the remains. The north mound, however, exhibits *throughout* the two special features which are described and explained under division 4. The gaps appear as usual in the south mound. There is no trace whatever of the marginal mound westward of the terminal point near the farmhouse. In the next field to the west (no. 8), the earthwork is greatly worn down for some distance, rendering uncertain the extent of the series in that direction.

(4) By far the longest of the four series is that which is traceable from a point half a mile west of Matfen Piers, apparently without a break to East Wallhouses, a distance of 1 mile, 3 furlongs. The whole sector has not yet been adequately surveyed. The causeways were discovered during the course of the O.S. Revision (1920), and only those details measured which were sufficiently prominent to bear reduction to 25 inch scale. Consequently, only eight of the fifteen Crossings traceable in the fields nos. 109 and 110 (N. XCII, 3) appear on the map.

Between the limits named, the state of preservation differs widely and at only two other points can the Crossings be shown on the map. In two small fields, one (no. 177) at Wallhouses, and the other (no. 170, N. XCII, 4) at East Wallhouses, which have been under grass for a very long period, the remains are extremely well-preserved. Four causeways are visible in the first field and four in the second. Between these well-preserved portions, faint traces of causeways at the correct interval, or at a multiple of the interval, recur so persistently as to indicate their existence throughout the sector.

With the exception of one interval which measures about 39 yards, the Crossings are spaced with the usual regularity, the average interval being 45 yards. The short interval occurs near the east side of the field no. 110 at Matfen Piers. It is the only instance of an irregular interval between causeways. The gaps appear throughout in both mounds. They appear to have been unusually deeply dug—practically to the ground level. There are no traces of the removed material near the gaps.* The inference that it was wholly utilized in making the causeways is supported by the fact that the latter are of quite exceptional dimensions, being probably three times the bulk and double the track-width of those at Cockmount Hill.

The description of the choked condition of the Ditch between the causeways in that sector, owing to lack of drainage, applies equally to the Ditch in the present instance.

As in each of the preceding examples there are no signs of the marginal mound at any point throughout the length of the causeway-series. Where that mound would be found, however, in a normal example of division 3 conditions, *i.e.* along the *south edge* of the Ditch, a new feature appears which is absent at Cockmount Hill, Carvoran and Carrawburgh farm. But in sharp contrast with that mound, which is *continuous* where the Ditch is *open*, the new feature appears as a succession of small mounds, each

* It was at first thought that this material was invariably spread outside the Vallum (these *Transactions*, N.S. xiii, p. 395). It is now clear that the method of its disposal was not uniform. At Wallend Common, it is wholly outside, but that example is exceptional. At Cawfields, nearly half may have been spread outside to form a sloping approach, and this appears to have been the common practice. How the other half was disposed of is not so clear, for corresponding approaches on the inside are not easily traceable except at Cockmount Hill. Probably the causeway contains a proportion of this material in every case, but, where the gaps are shallow, that proportion would be small and other material must have been added. On the other hand, gaps dug to the ground level, as at Matfen Piers (and occasionally elsewhere) would render approaches unnecessary, leaving the whole of the material available for the causeway.

in appearance like the traverse of a temporary camp gateway, literally traversing the *south* ends of successive causeways, as if to prevent passage across them. There is no reason to doubt the Roman date of these traverse-mounds for they are traceable at each of the eight consecutive Crossings in the fields nos. 109 and 110 which appear on the 25 inch map.

When the general evidence relating to the marginal mound—which belongs chronologically to division 3—has been considered, it will become apparent that, in view of the condition of the Ditch, these traverses can have no connection with that mound, in their *composition.* Whether they are connected with it in purpose or use, for they are obviously of *later* construction than the causeways, will be considered, together with the further question which arises, namely, why *any* causeways have survived, in the last section of this paper (p. 424).

DIVISION 3.

The main chronological division of the remains has now been reached. For 16 miles between the Wall Burn and Whittledean the exact condition of the earthwork cannot be ascertained by surface observation. Throughout the remaining 14¼ miles, there is evidence in the form of gaps in the mounds of at least an intention to construct complete Crossings. The total length of the series covered by divisions 1 and 2 is only 2½ miles, leaving no less than 11¾ miles through which not a single causeway has been observed. Through these same 11¾ miles, however, the feature is uniformly present, which is absent throughout the 2½ miles of unfinished, or existing complete Crossings, namely the marginal mound.

The model as arranged in fig. 7 illustrates the general conditions of division 3.

In this mound, not one instance of a gap in line with those in the north and south mounds has been observed. Further, wherever the marginal mound is present the

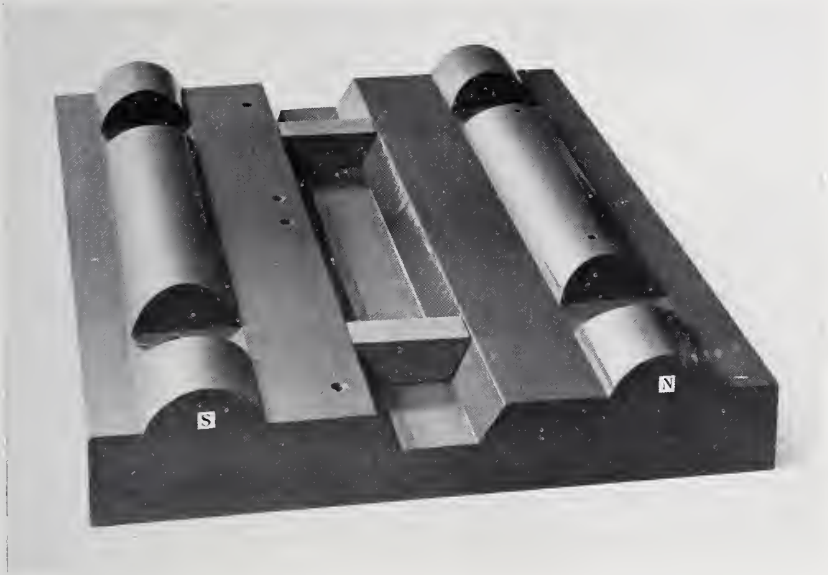

Fig. 6.—The complete Crossings. Division 2.

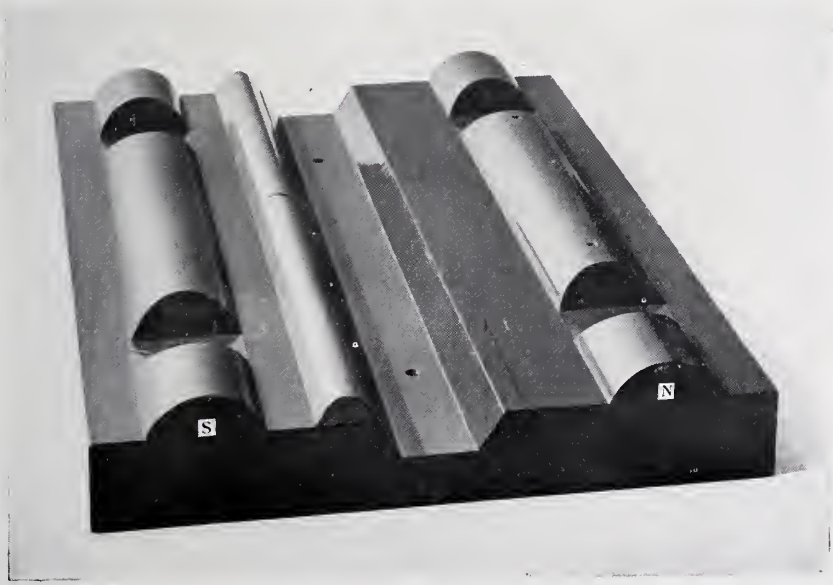

Fig. 7.—The Vallum as remodelled after the building of the Wall. Division 3.

To face p. 414.

Fig. 8.

Ditch is obviously of larger dimensions than in the sectors where the causeways appear.* Lastly, the composition of this mound indicates that its material came from the Ditch, not when the latter was first dug, but subsequently. The above facts, taken together, lead inevitably to the conclusion that there is an intimate connection between the absence of the causeways and the presence of the marginal mound, which admits of only one explanation, namely, that wherever the marginal mound appears to-day the causeways were once present. The increased size of the Ditch further implies that the removal of the causeways was accompanied by a complete re-digging of the Ditch in those sectors, and that the mound represents the material removed in *both* operations.

These conclusions are confirmed by the remains which, in two widely-separated sectors, exhibit the actual points at which the re-digging of the Ditch has, for some reason, ceased abruptly, and beyond which the causeways have been left undisturbed. The first example is at the west end of the Cockmount Hill series of causeways, and is illustrated by fig. 8.† A few feet east of the wall between the fields nos. 80 and 54 (N. LXXXIX, 5), *i.e.* within 35 yards of the westmost causeway, the marginal mound

* The actual increase in dimensions has been enhanced by placing the mound along the edge of the Ditch.

† Reproduced from the Ordnance Survey Map with the sanction of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office. About the middle of the plan, a line across the Ditch represents a field wall. In preparing the block the rest of the line was erased by mistake.

appears in the normal position.* Twenty feet west of the wall, a northern marginal mound begins. This abnormal feature is no doubt due to the exceptional height of the south side of the Ditch, which is here carried along the foot of the low ridge which gradually develops into Blake Law (see p. 359). The upcast has been almost equally disposed in each marginal mound. The contrast in the size of the Ditch at this point and at the nearest causeway is remarkable. The sectional area in the former case is fully double that in the latter.

At a point 95 yards west of the wall, an expansion occurs in the north marginal mound directly opposite a gap. Opposite the next two gaps to the west are similar expansions of the same mound. The full length of this mound is only 230 yds., and throughout it has an unfinished appearance, as also have the expansions which are so far a unique feature. They appear on fig. 8. The conclusion is not unreasonable that such expansions, representing additional upcast opposite consecutive causeway-positions, afford evidence that causeways have existed at these points.

The second example is at the east end of the causeway-series close to Carrawburgh farmhouse, in the field no. 6 (N. LXXXI, 12). To the eastward (and throughout in respect of the *north* mound) the conditions are those of division 4. The arrangement of the model in fig. 9 illustrates the general features of the situation at the point where the re-digging of the Ditch ceased, with the exception of the increase in the size of the Ditch concurrently with the appearance of the marginal mound. This feature is very clearly marked although the Ditch has not been so greatly enlarged as at Cockmount Hill. The marginal mound is normal in form and position in this sector.

Though a satisfactory explanation of the marginal mound has been reached, and its relative date ascertained,

* The mound is represented as beginning west of the wall. It is too small, at the east side, to be drawn to 25 inch scale.

the remains have thus far afforded no assistance whatever in estimating the lapse of time between the construction of the Crossings and their removal concurrently with the mound's appearance. Such evidence, fixing the actual date of the re-digging of the Ditch within very narrow limits, is provided by the fourth division of the remains.

DIVISION 4.

Apart from the modification of the north mound, the characteristics of divisions 3 and 4 are identical. The north mound differs from the south mound (which is normal) in two particulars. It is of considerably larger size and possesses no visible gaps. The model as arranged in fig. 10 illustrates these special features. For many years the difference in size has been noticed. It has been emphasised in probably every "standard" cross-section of the earthwork drawn prior to 1893.* Horsley's belief as to its meaning, namely, that in several sectors the Military Way has been carried along the top of the north mound, and the recently proved accuracy of his views in the case of the Limestone Corner-Coesike example,† have already been referred to on page 354.

With the discovery that the road-material forming the Military Way, added to an existing mound of normal dimensions, accounted for one abnormality, the possibility became apparent that it also accounted for the second, and that before the road was made, gaps existed in the mound opposite those plainly traceable to-day in the south mound. This conjecture was put to the test in June, 1921, and conclusive evidence of its accuracy obtained at three gap positions on Carrawburgh farm, two in the field no. 3c (N. LXXXI, 12), close to Carrawburgh east turret, and one in the field no. 6, opposite a causeway of the Carrawburgh series. At the position nearest the turret, the evidence

* *E.g. Britannia Romana*, p. 158, n. 11; *Roman Wall*, 1867, p. 57.

† It is practically certain that the suggested conjunction of road and mound between Portgate and Hill Head (*Brit. Rom.*, p. 143) is also accurate.

was remarkably comprehensive. The material filling the gap was found to be one and the same, not only as that forming the foundation of the road above it, but also as that composing the marginal mound opposite the gap. It is a dark shale frequently met with locally, which contrasts strongly with the clay of the upper subsoil of which the north mound is composed. The shale-bed was evidently just reached when the Ditch was first dug, for some shale appears mixed with the clay towards the top of the mound. The re-digging appears to have been entirely through the shale.

These results establish a chronological connection between the Crossings and the Stone Wall which makes possible of solution the purpose of the system.

In the foregoing descriptions of the remains, the whole of the examples have been drawn from only one half of the Vallum's length, the 33 miles between Hare Hill and Whittledean. If nothing were known of the other half, the 12 miles from Whittledean to Newcastle and the 21 miles from Hare Hill to Dykesfield, to attempt a generalisation at the present time would be clearly unwise. Fortunately, evidence of the continuity of the system is not lacking in those long stretches of highly cultivated country.

At various points the marginal mound is visible and, at two at least, the gaps have been observed. At Davidson's Banks, about a mile west of Carlisle, four or five gaps about 45 yards apart are traceable in the north mound (these *Transactions*, N.S. xiii, p. 396). To-day, the Vallum between Rudchester and Harlow Hill is greatly worn down and no gaps are to be seen. In Horsley's time, however, it was in excellent preservation, and, as already noted on page 353, he called attention specially to "the breaks in the north *agger*."

It is not confirmatory evidence which is wanting, but evidence unfavourable to the continuity of the system:

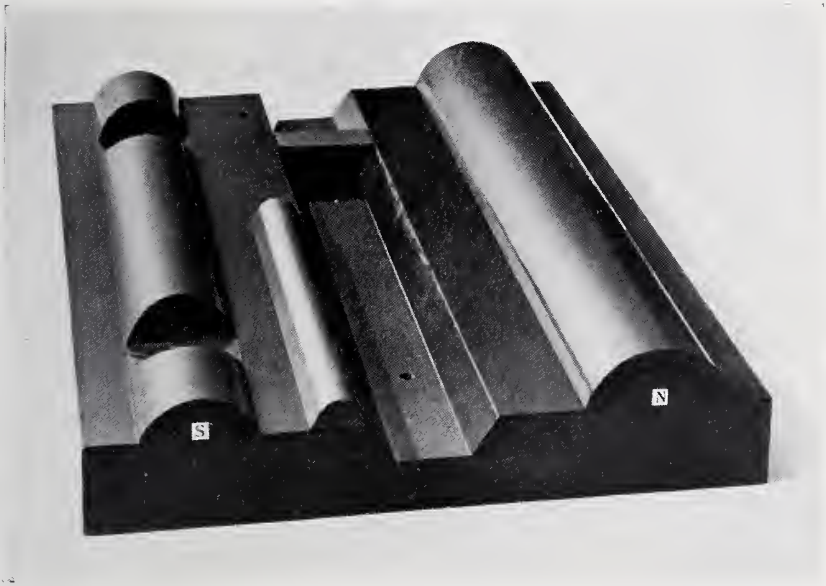

Fig. 9.—The situation opposite Carrawburgh farmhouse.

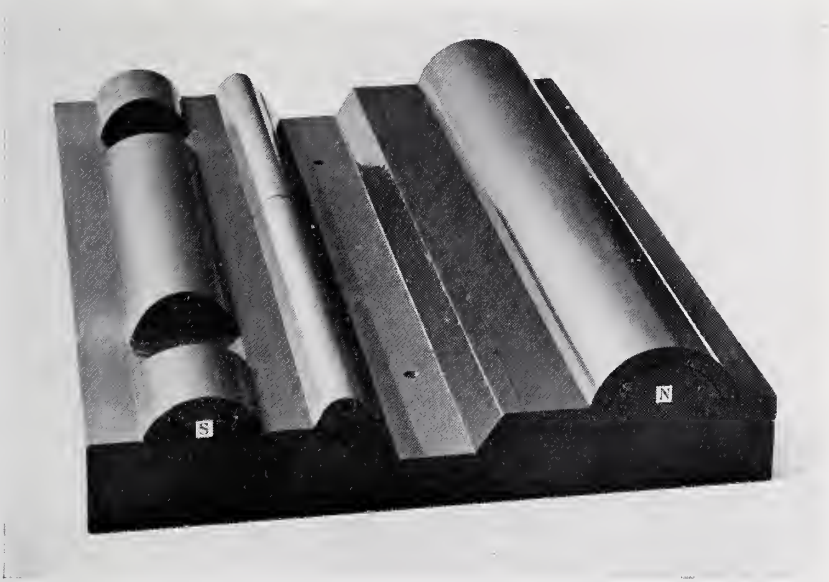

Fig. 10.—The Military Way upon the north mound. Division 4.

To face p. 418.

of the latter thus far there is none. For only 800 yards in 15 miles does evidence of the Crossings appear to be entirely absent, and, in the light of the unfinished south mound at Cawfields, the most likely explanation of the short sector west of Combe Crag Wood is that the work which was so manifestly in progress not far away in both directions, ceased before that point was reached. It is, therefore, not unreasonable to assume that the gaps seen by Horsley between Rudchester and Harlow Hill are not the only evidence of the system for the loss of which cultivation is responsible!

But such evidence should not be wholly beyond recovery. The plough has generally not reached the indelible line of the original surface below the mounds, and where the marginal mound has existed it will still be traceable by the "black line."* Where the "black line" is absent, causeways may be sought for along the Ditch. Their preservation is ensured by the very process which has destroyed the mounds. Such are some of the tasks awaiting the resumption of excavation.

The Purpose of the System.

Prior to the discovery of the causeways, the only explanation of the gaps which presented itself to the first-named of the writers was that they represented an attempt, subsequent to the construction of the Vallum, to increase the visibility of the mounds from a distance. The visibility theory, the governing idea of which was that the earthwork represented a non-military boundary "mark" or "pale," was carefully considered and tested by the second-named of the writers, during a period of several weeks, under diverse weather conditions, in different localities and where the vegetation on the mounds varies. In certain circumstances, the presence of the gaps enhances the visibility of the mounds most strikingly. On the other

* *Ibid.*, o.s. xiv, pp. 188, 189: also *cf.* o.s. xiii, p. 457.

hand, the observations neutral or unfavourable to the theory exceeded in proportion those favourable to it, and decidedly outweighed them as evidence. That explanation was accordingly abandoned and Horsley's line of thought, that "they look like gaps made for carriages," adopted. The position of the gaps directly opposite each other in the mounds, with the Ditch between, soon led to the discovery of the causeways at Cockmount Hill, when the solution of both components as complete Crossings became self-evident.

Before the excavations described in the preceding section were undertaken, however, the question of the purpose of such Crossings admitted of the following alternative answers :—

That they were made—

(1) To facilitate the transport of material and the passage of workers from quarries and temporary camps south of the Vallum to the Great Wall, during the period of its construction.

(2) For a similar purpose, during some period of its reconstruction, or

(3) To demonstrate, in a manner at once spectacular and useful, that a change in imperial policy had rendered the whole earthwork obsolete.

During the course of the Pilgrimage in September, 1920,* the greater probability of the third solution was urged by Sir Charles Oman and Mr. J. A. Petch, as against the first originally suggested by the second-named of the writers. The building of the wall of Antoninus, *circa* A.D. 142, with the assumed extension of the area of *civil* administration to that line at the same time, was advanced as the occasion of the change. On the same occasion, a criticism of the first solution from the engineering standpoint by Mr. W. H. Knowles lent additional support to the third. Mr.

* These *Transactions*, N.S. xxi, pp. 257—269. *Proceedings, S.A. Newcastle*, 3 ser. ix, pp. 281—299.

Knowles urged that for the purpose of facilitating the building of the Wall, (1) the *frequency* of the Crossings was unnecessarily high, and (2) that many on account of their inaccessible position must have been entirely useless. In view of the fact that the only examples known at the time were those below Cockmount Hill, which everyone present could see led to the edge of a wide marsh only 50 yards away, it is not to be wondered at that the first solution " made little headway at the start " !

From that time until June, 1921, when the filled-up gaps were discovered below the Military Way on Carrawburgh farm, the possibility of a real solution appeared to be remote, the nearest approach promising to be a balancing of the historical evidence upon the one point whether or not the building of Antonine's Wall involved the alteration of the civil *limes*. That simple excavation transformed the situation, and gave an unequivocal verdict in favour of the first solution, based upon the single condition that the Military Way is accepted as one of the four essential components of the system of works collectively described as the " Great Wall," of which the remaining three are the Stone Wall, the Milecastles and the Turrets. It is not the intention of the writers to discuss the validity of this condition, for they are unaware of any evidence unfavourable to such a connection between the Stone Wall and the Military Way, nor have they met with any statement of a contrary opinion in the long record of the study of the Wall.

But this result offers no explanation of the two-fold engineering difficulty raised by Mr. W. H. Knowles. His second objection, that of the uselessness of certain of the Crossings, was, the writers consider, fully answered by Mr. R. G. Collingwood. Dealing with this point in his Notes on the Pilgrimage, Mr. Collingwood says (*ibid.*, p. 298) :—" At *Aesica* (*i.e.* Cockmount Hill) the interruptions lead into marshy ground where no such traffic (*i.e.* in

connection with the building of the Wall) can have passed ..... At these points, therefore, the interruptions cannot have been used for (that) purpose..... This does not appear to be a fatal objection. It is a fact not without parallel in Roman engineering. At Hardknot the north gate of the fort opens on the brink of a precipice; the same thing happens at Housesteads milecastle and in a modified degree at Housesteads itself. At Ambleside, again, the south gate opens into a marsh over which it has been proved that there never was a road. These gates were built because they were in the plan, not because they were needed. Roman military engineers were in the habit of working to a fixed plan even when the result was a waste of labour; they valued tidiness and regularity more than economy of effort. It need cause no surprise if they decided to pierce the Vallum with crossings not only where they could be used but also where, owing to the nature of the ground, they could not."

The first objection, however, raises issues of great interest and importance. The determining factor in the situation which faced the engineers in planning the scheme of building operations was the location of the supplies of material. Had these been situated to the north of the Vallum there also would the labour units engaged in the work have been quartered. In that case the military task would have been increased, for the temporary camps and quarries would have been more liable to attack than if they were situated behind the existing line of forts, but the crossing of the Vallum would have been unnecessary, and the labour which that involved would have been saved.

Why that course was not adopted is demonstrated with remarkable clearness by the geological formation of the district traversed by the Wall. In Cumberland the sources of supply are situated wholly to the south of the Vallum. In Northumberland, though good building stone is found near the Wall on the north side, and has been

worked by the Romans at more than one point, the striking feature is the persistent recurrence south of the Vallum of outcrops which have been workable with a minimum of preparatory labour. The uplands between the North Tyne and the Tipalt afford the outstanding example of this uniformity of natural conditions. Owing to the upheaval associated with the great basaltic inroad, the northern limit of which is marked by the line of the Wall from Limestone Bank to Thirlwall, immense quantities of freestone and limestone, more than sufficient for the whole Wall had no other supplies been available, have been rendered immediately workable in the belt of country between the South Tyne and the Vallum.

The preliminary survey of the district could hardly have resulted otherwise than in the decision to utilise these sources of supply notwithstanding the extensive interference with the Vallum which this course involved. The existence of Crossings additional to those which from the first must have carried the branch roads from the forts to the Stanegate, is therefore accounted for.

The writers believe the explanation of the high frequency of the Crossings to be the adoption of an intensive method of construction, in order to ensure the completion of the Wall in the shortest possible period of time. Though the centurial inscriptions indicate that the Wall was certainly built in short lengths by different working parties, they give no indication of the total number of men engaged *in every capacity* upon a particular length. It is not for a moment to be considered that a working party numbered only the hundred men of the particular company. Probably much nearer the truth is the suggestion that these hundred *legionary* soldiers represent a total staff of ten times that number.

Such a view is supported by the discovery, since 1908, of numerous temporary camps in the Haltwhistle Common neighbourhood, where, as already indicated, the earth-

work remains are in an extraordinarily perfect state of preservation. Within an area measuring less than 2½ miles in length, between Fellend and Milestone House farms on the line of Wade's road, *i.e.* immediately to the south of the Stanegate, and three-quarters of a mile in width, including both the Wall and Wade's road, ten camps, each complete and independent, have been located. Their total area is no less than 56¼ acres.* Three of the camps are of great size, far exceeding the largest of those previously located along the line of the Wall, Fellend camp covering 20½ acres, Milestone House nearly 16 acres, and Burnhead 9 acres. According to Hyginus the ten camps would together provide temporary accommodation for at least 50,000 men, a total representing probably ten times the number that could be employed at one time on so short a length of the Wall! †

If the scheme of operations provided for the concentration, in successive sectors, of the greatest number of men employable at one time, in quarrying and building, in the intermediate operations such as the production of lime-mortar, and especially in the work of rapid transport between the quarries and the Wall, further objection is not likely to be raised even to so many as 36 Crossings per Roman mile. The existence of these camps, affording such extensive accommodation, not only removes the difficulty at any rate as far as the whole Haltwhistle Common neighbourhood is concerned, but indicates another direction in which the complete solution may be reached, namely by a search for similar camps in other sectors.

The survival of complete Crossings in at least four sectors is the last question to be considered.

The only direct evidence bearing upon the actual date

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* Eight are situated south of the Vallum, and two a short distance north of the Wall. They appear, for the first time on any map, on the revised O.S., Edition 1922 (N. LXXXIX, 5, 6 and 9).

† There is, of course, no intention to suggest that all the camps belong to one period.

of the re-digging of the Ditch is that of the Carrawburgh farm excavation. Further evidence of this character will be obtainable at any point where the Military Way is carried upon the north mound, but no point of interference or connection between the marginal mound and any other component of the works has yet been observed at which evidence of date could be sought for. If, however, the Vallum originally marked the northern limit of civil administration, a decision to retain it as such is much more likely to have been made immediately after the building of the Wall (which certainly emphasised the military character of the administration beyond the Vallum) than at a later period, especially in view of the rapid development of the defensive element in the later *limites* throughout the Empire.

It is, therefore, natural to conclude that as soon as the Wall was completed in a particular sector, the re-digging of the Ditch commenced. Why such a procedure was not fully carried out in certain sectors may remain unexplained, but at any rate the fact is parallelled by the survival in other sectors of series of unfinished Crossings, and in one at least of the earthwork in its original form.

It is possible, however, to advance reasons for the survival of three of the existing series of causeways. At Carvoran, they would give direct access to the Military Way from a fort which occupies a unique position in relation to the Vallum.* The wide marsh below Cockmount Hill, probably the most completely impassable of the marshes which the Vallum skirts in that neighbourhood, rendered the causeways in that sector useless from the first. Might not that fact prompt the decision that their removal would be a particularly useless expenditure of labour? Lastly, at Matfen Piers there is evidence, in the

* MAGNA is only 150 yards south of the general line of the Vallum, yet the earthwork makes no effort to enclose it. It is evidently an original Stanegate fort. This fact may account for its unique position.

construction of the traverses, of a decision to prevent the crossing of the Ditch from the *south*. Do the traverses represent a labour-saving alternative to the removal of the causeways on account of the exceptional size of the latter in this sector?

In conclusion, the writers desire to express their warmest thanks to Mr. Donald Atkinson, M.A., and to Mr. R. G. Collingwood, M.A., F.S.A., for their invaluable interest and help during the preparation of this paper. But for discussion of the historical material with Mr. Atkinson and his translation from the German of Kornemann's paper in *Klio*, vol. vii, neither the historical section of this paper nor the Appendix would have been written.

Mr. Collingwood's detailed criticism led, not only to the modification of the writers' conclusions, but also to the very valuable statement of his own in the *Vasculum*, to which reference has been made.

To Mrs. T. H. Hodgson, the writers are greatly indebted for very valuable information concerning many details of the work of the Cumberland Excavation Committee, and to Dr. George Macdonald for his unfailing interest and especially for his advice and encouragement during his survey of the Crossings in April, 1921.

APPENDIX.

A Comparison of the Vallum with the Limites in other Provinces.

By R. C. Shaw, M.R.C.S.

A discussion of the function of the Vallum would not be complete without an examination of that structure in the light of evidence deduced from its comparison with other frontier works of the Roman period. Although the Vallum stands alone in its possession of several peculiar features; and though the Roman Empire provides us with no precisely parallel work, many valuable facts, which throw light upon its purpose, may be obtained from such a comparative study.

One outstanding point of difference between the British and

Continental *limites* may be referred to here—that is, the peculiar continuity of design of the British barriers in contrast with those other lands. For example, the north-west frontier of Dacia was demarcated by a variety of works, sometimes by a stone wall, sometimes by an earth bank and a ditch, or even by an earth bank alone (*Klio*, vol. vii); on the other hand, recall to mind the continuity of design manifested by the Vallum or the Wall of Antoninus in Britain. Perhaps the brevity of the course of our frontiers determined the homogeneousness of a design which would otherwise have been governed by variations in supply of building material, or by the physical features of the country traversed.

The utilisation of a ditch as a line of demarcation at an early period is instanced by the ditch of Scipio in Africa, which was apparently solely a boundary ditch between tribes unsupported by any type of fortification whatsoever. Although this is a case where, in pre-Imperial days a ditch served as boundary, the "Limites Imperii" primarily followed the course of the pronounced physical features such as the rivers or, in the absence of such, the frontiers were demarcated by roads linking up the forts. The earliest line of the German frontier furnishes examples of both types of early *limites*. Thus, as far as possible, the Rhine forms the boundary (Kornemann refers to this type as "wet *limites*"), on the other hand, where the Rhenish and Danubian frontiers meet in the hill country, the *limes* followed the road from Strassburg up the Kinzig valley to Rottweil and probably joined the Danube near Tuttlingen.*

It is probably not until the advent of the Hadrianic period that we find the delineation of frontiers by continuous boundary marks of the Scipian ditch type. Of all the great frontier works which may be assigned to that period the *limes* in Numidia furnishes us with the closest parallel to the Vallum (Cagnat, *L'Armée romaine d'Afrique*, Ed. II).

The original frontier of Northern Africa followed a line running east and west along the north side of a range of hills, amongst the supporting stations of which were Thevestus, Mascula and Lambaesis, alternatively legionary fortresses. About the reign of Hadrian (Kornemann, *Klio*, vol. vii), the 3rd legion was transferred to Lambaesis, at the earliest about 123 A.D., and the fort-

* The *limes Arabicus* in another example of the road type of frontier. The limiting road was constructed by Trajan and supported by a chain of strong forts, for example, El Kastal and El Leggum, the latter being a legionary fortress. At a later date a further chain of forts was added 20 miles to the east.

ress was completed in 129 A.D. At this period the frontier was advanced beyond the southern hills, and forts were planted at the further extremities of the passes, the new line following the course of a chain of Chotts (lakes) and the R. Djedi. Between the westernmost of the Chotts and the Djedi, the frontier, instead of following the bend of the river, was carried in a direct line by a continuous work similar to the Vallum in many respects. It consisted of a ditch running roughly parallel to, and 4-5 kilometres south of the Djedi, the material from which was disposed on either the north or south berms, mainly on the northern side, to form a mound, supported in places by a stone wall $1\frac{1}{2}$ metres high.

Immediately to the rear of the north mound, at intervals of 1 km. were additional mounds bearing foundations measuring 3×3 metres, evidently the remains of watch towers. At irregular distances there were larger mounds in groups of three,* each of which had a diameter of 10 metres. Between the Djedi and the earthwork lay the forts. This system was interrupted at intervals by crossings for the caravan routes over the desert. Here we have a section of the Hadrianic Numidian *limes* which was demarcated by a single ditch, the impression of which was exaggerated by piling the material thrown out into a mound, which was mainly on the north side and had the additional support of a dry stone wall, evidently intended still further to increase the importance of the Roman side of the frontier, the whole line being watched by towers at intervals, and supported by forts in the rear. The entire work has a distinctly civil flavour : a barrier for customs control.

The indications on this section are corroborated by the evidence from two other parts of the same frontier. For a distance of 17 kms. between the summits of the Jebel Tebaga and the western slopes of the Jebel Melabb, the frontier ran approximately north and south, and was demarcated by a simple ditch, the sand from which was thrown to the east (Roman side) to form a mound replaced in rocky parts by a dry stone wall of a very irregular character, possessing an original height of 2 metres. This section was crossed by a caravan route at a gateway guarded by a tower. This entire line of works was obviously nothing more than a mere barrier for customs control, a simple definition of the Roman frontier. Still another instance may be cited (Cagnat, *ibid.*, Ed. II, p. 534). Traversing a valley near

* Compare these remains with those of watch towers on the German frontier, where the towers also occur in groups of three.

Bena des ouled Mahdi there was an important caravan route which here crossed the frontier ; the latter was, therefore, more strongly defined in order to prevent smuggling of goods, or in this case to check raiding parties following the valley. The barrier here was a wall 4 metres in height with a gateway where the track crossed, supported by circular towers.

Viewing this work as a whole, one cannot fail to be impressed by its very un-military character. Only where an important trade route crossed the frontier was there any structure of a military nature : elsewhere, the barrier, in the absence of the Chotts and the R. Djedi, was a mere ditch enhanced by the presence of a comparatively low earthern mound or a rough stone wall, bearing a resemblance to the Vallum in its non-military character, but differing from that structure in that it had a more pronounced mound on the Roman side and that its defences were all to the rear. Therefore, although the continuous lines of the Numidian frontier appear *a priori* to be boundary works, their obstacle element was more developed than in the case of the Vallum, especially in the valley near Bena des ouled Mahdi.

The importance of the ditch on this frontier, as distinct from a mound secondarily strengthened by a ditch, is illustrated by the following interesting reference from the Codex Theodosianus (8. 5. 1.). Speaking of the frontier lands, it says, " ..... spaces of land which had been conceded by human foresight to the natives for the sake of the maintenance and defence of the frontier and of the ditch of the men of old time."

The forest-clad hills of the Rhenish frontier were also traversed by a continuous work in the Hadrianic period, the Palisade. The details of this structure have been given in the preceding paper (p. 378). It was there shown that the Palisade functioned more as a customs hedge than as a military obstacle, although it is an obvious and undeniable fact that a palisade composed of nine foot beams would possess more of the obstacle element than the ditch and mounds of the Vallum. The two works were, however, clearly related in general principles ; they were both well-defined customs boundaries, nor need the difference in material between the Vallum and the Palisade indicate a widely different date of construction. The extended line and the superabundance of timber along the Rhine frontier may conceivably have influenced the builders in the choice of the material form of the work and hence the Palisade, whereas the shorter line of the Vallum and the soft soil along its course would lend itself more readily to the ditch type of boundary, such as was the case in sections of the

African frontier. Such a conclusion is still further substantiated by the fact that Antoninus Pius constructed a palisade similar to Hadrian's along his advanced line extending from Miltenburg to Welzheim; the evidence of the forts on this line definitely indicates an Antonine date. His work on this frontier contrasts strongly with his turf wall in Scotland.

Notwithstanding the improbability that the Romans would await a considerable assault behind such works, but rather engage an enemy in the open field, these barriers, such as the palisade and other works to be mentioned later, were obviously of some military significance as attested by the following inscription of the time of Commodus, 185 A.D. "He fortified the whole bank (Danube) with towers built from the ground and also with garrisons placed at convenient points to prevent secret crossings of the river" (C.I.L. iii, 3385, 10312-3). Here we have definite evidence that a river *limes* was held in strength in order to prevent minor incursions of the enemy into Roman territory. Reasoning by analogy it seems probable that the artificial continuous works, such as the Palisade, would possess a similar significance, since they were the later developed types of boundaries. These continuous works would be strategic lines, the possession of which had to be retained for they were the one means which enabled the Romans to control customs and tribal movements.

It would seem not improbable that they would tend to develop along military lines: their intrinsic value as obstacles, as well as their extrinsic value as imposing continuous barriers, would tend to become accentuated. We find a rapid development of the obstacle element in such works, which takes the form of a continuous stone or earthern rampart, to which the ditch was a mere subsidary, in contrast to their simple prototype exemplified in the ditch of Scipio. If a continuous *limes* is going to develop along military lines, it would be natural to anticipate a similar process of evolution in the forts. The additional strength of a *limes* would demand an increased force to guard it, and evidence for this development is not lacking; thus, on the German frontier, the forts were enlarged in Hadrian's reign to cohort size, with masonry instead of earthwork ramparts, prior to the construction of the earth-mound and ditch. Evidence of the enlargement of certain forts on the Vallum before the erection of the Great Wall, has been referred to in the preceding paper (pp. 370, 395).

It is now possible to trace the rise of the military element of the frontier-works.

Firstly, the Rhenish frontier may be considered. At a later

date than that of the Palisade, a ditch was dug and a high earth mound raised, immediately to the rear of that structure: this earthern wall, known as the Pfahlgraben, was continuous with the stone wall, the Teufelsmauer. As indicated in the preceding paper (p. 380), it was Mommsen's opinion that even these structures were barriers of a customs type and not comparable to the stone wall in Britain; nevertheless it would seem that they contained a definite military element which, however, on other frontiers developed to a much greater degree.

For examples of such evolution, the Aluta lines present themselves. The first *limes* along the Aluta (a tributary of the eastern Danube), followed the course of that river, lying in front of it to the north, near the foothills of the Carpathians. The forts along this section were built in 138 A.D., and enlarged in 140 A.D. (Tocilesco, *Fouilles en Roumanie*); another example of increased frontier garrisons prior to the development of a stronger continuous *limes*, which, in this case, was constructed 20 kms. eastwards and was 235 kms. in length. The work itself is described as being made "of earth, beaten and baked, more than 2 metres broad and 3 metres high, crowned by battlements and a gallery for the sentinels." To the rear (150—300 metres) were nine single and four double forts and between the forts were towers. Kornemann considers that this Aluta line was constructed not later than the end of the 2nd century. Here the military element appears to have developed to a greater degree than in the case of the Pfahlgraben or the Teufelsmauer; on the other hand the structure was not as strong as the stone wall in Britain.

The nearest parallel to the Great Wall, where a continental *limes* shows the maximum development of the military element, is to be found on the Dobruja frontier, which traversed the alluvial plain of the Danube delta westwards from the Black Sea to the main course of the river. Of the two Roman lines in the Dobruja, one was a great wall of earth, the other was made of stone. The former preceded the latter in date, the barriers crossing at various points. The earth wall (le grand vallum de terre) was some 4 metres in height and 12 metres wide at its base, there was a ditch 10 metres broad on the north side, and a slight southern ditch is also figured by Tocilesco (*Fouilles en Roumanie*, p. 145), but appears to have been insignificant. On the south side, in connection with* the earth wall, was a chain of forts approximately 1 km. apart, with intermediate maniple-sized forts. The forts were

* Tocilesco does not state if they abut on the wall.

defended by earthen ramparts and measured, according to Tocilesco, on an average, 240 × 226 paces, the manipular forts averaging about 70 × 24 paces, the long sides of the latter being applied to the rampart.

The whole line was apparently a very strong one; the high earthern rampart and ditch would compare very favourably with the Wall of Antoninus in Scotland when one takes into consideration the strength of the forts and intermediates. The latter would be a little larger than our milecastles, although a structure approaching the form of one of these manipular forts would be effected if the two barrack-blocks of a milecastle were applied end to end along the wall, instead of being at right-angles to it. This line is dated by Tocilesco to Trajan. Kornemann, however, dates it to Hadrian. Some evidence bearing on this point may be deduced from consideration of the legionary fortress at Troesmis, lying to the north of the lines. The suburbs of this fortress were occupied by time-expired men in the reign of Hadrian, as evidenced by an inscription. It seems unlikely that Troesmis would be occupied if these strong lines had then been established across the delta to the south. This would appear to indicate a late Hadrianic date at least for these lines.

The second Dobruja line was a wall of stone, following a very similar course to that of the earth wall. That part of the stone wall near the sea was built from the ruins of the Greek colony of Constantia. This line was supported by 27 forts and some intermediate towers, though the latter were not so numerous in proportion as those on the earth wall. Two of these forts measured 280 × 200 paces and 250 paces square respectively. The forts were spaced irregularly, being more numerous near the sea. Although this wall was not so systematically supported with forts the latter were clearly larger than those on the earth wall. No date has been as yet assigned with any certainty to this later *limes*. Viewing the Dobruja stone wall as a whole, one cannot fail to be impressed with the view that here we have a development of the military element of the *limes* which, in this particular case, has attained a degree of strength greater than that of the Antonine Wall, and little below that of Hadrian's stone wall in Britain, while its forts attained an even greater strength than those of the Wallsend—Bowness chain.

A position has now been attained in this discussion of the comparative evidence which enables us to understand clearly the purpose of the Vallum in the light of such research. A careful study of the earlier continuous frontier works (Palisade and Numidian

limites) brings out the fact that, besides being customs boundaries, they were lines in the neighbourhood of which resistance against an enemy was to be made by military force ; though such a force was not necessarily disposed along the immediate line of demarcation, nor were the structures defensible in themselves. In course of time military exigencies came to govern the entire aspect of certain of the frontiers, notably those in Britain and on the Danube and Aluta. Strategic advantages were henceforward the primary consideration in the construction of these continuous *limites*, and as a necessary concomitant change the strength of the garrisons of the forts was increased. As a consequence of these changes the forts underwent enlargement, and on the German and Aluta lines, and on the Vallum in Britain, they show this change prior to the erection of the continuous obstacle type of work exemplified by the stone wall of Hadrian.

The evolutionary position of the Vallum relative to other frontier works may now be clearly understood. It is evident that it was of the Scipian ditch type of civil boundary, with the addition of a chain of guard forts and that, although closely resembling in many points the general characteristics of the Numidian frontier, it differed from that line in having all its forts in advance of the boundary, and was neutral as regards intrinsic military advantage. The Palisade in Germany, although differing in material type, was probably closely related in the general principles of limitation of the province and customs control.

Here, it must be repeated, that the further evolution of the frontiers was not a chronological development, but a change entirely dependant on the military exigencies of the frontier concerned. All the evidence tends to show that the Caledonians were a far more turbulent race than were the tribesmen on other frontiers, that they were constantly harassing the frontier forces. The Roman army in Britain was considerably larger than that patrolling the very much longer line of the Rhenish *limes*. Hence the more rapid evolution of a stronger type of work than the Vallum, as typified by the stone wall of Hadrian or the turf wall of Pius, an evolutionary stage which was probably not attained on the German frontier until after 160 A.D. or even as late as 200 A.D., or, in the case of the Dobruja stone wall, not until the middle of the 2nd century.

PROCEEDINGS.

Annual Meeting.

THE General Summer Meeting was held at Penrith, with two days' excursions, on Thursday and Friday, July 7th and 8th, 1921. On the committee for local arrangements were Mr. Henry G. Gandy, C.B.E., Colonel Haswell, C.I.E., Messrs. J. H. Martindale, D. Scott and Edward Wilson, Hon. Secretary. Members and friends present numbered 110, including the Dean of Carlisle and Mrs. Rashdall; Mr. H. G. Gandy and Lieut. Gandy; the Rev. J. and Mr. and Mrs. Llewellyn; Mr. R. G. Airey; Sir S. H. and Lady Scott; Mrs. Hesketh Hodgson and Miss Hodgson; Messrs. W. G. and R. G. Collingwood; Mrs. Breeks and Miss Dennison; Miss Thomson; Col. and Mrs. Haswell; Dr., Mrs. and Miss Hopwood; Professor and Mrs. Ekwall; Mr. and Mrs. Lazonby and party; Mr. T. Cann Hughes; Messrs. H. S. and Christopher Cowper; Canon and Mrs. Monnington; Rev. B. G. R. and Mrs. Hale; Mr. and Mrs. Parker, Kirkoswald; Rev. T. A. Carmichael; Mr. C. Courtenay Hodgson; Mrs. Horrocks; Mr. and Mrs. John F. Curwen; Mr. and Mrs. T. B. Nelson and Miss Crone; Lt.-Col. and Mrs. Bates; Mrs. Roe; Mr. Francis Nicholson; Canon Clay; Miss Highmore; Mrs. and Miss Nicholson and Mrs. Ratcliffe; Rev. R. S. G. and Mrs. Green; Mrs. Johnson; Mr. and Mrs. H. G. Graham; Mr. and Mrs. John Sewell; Dr. and Mrs. C. J. Harris; Mrs. Wingate; Miss Macray; Mr. and Mrs. Legh Tolson; Mr. Gordon and Mr. Walker; Mr. Caddow; Messrs. D. Scott, R. Morton Rigg, T. D. Shepherd; Mr. and Mrs. J. S. Yeates; Mr. W. T. McIntire; Major, Mrs. and Miss Irwin; Mrs. Baily and Miss Garston; Mr. and Mrs. H. Lester, Miss Oddie and Miss Graveson; Mr. and Mrs. J. D. Johnstone; Miss Frost and Miss Jones; Miss Dodd; Mr. W. N. Ling; Mr. H. L. Bridger; Mr. C. Jackson; Misses M. and E. Nicholson; Miss H. M. Donald; Mr. and Mrs. J. H. Martindale; Mr. J. E. Spence; Mr. and Mrs. H. Lonsdale; Mr. C. W. Ruston-Harrison and Dr. Ruston-Harrison; Mr. L. E. Hope; Mr. and Mrs. Richmond and party; Mr. C. H. Shaw; Canon and Mrs. Byard; Mrs. Bristow; Mr. and Mrs. Edward Wilson.

YANWATH HALL FROM THE SOUTH.

Photo. by Reeds Ltd. Penrith.

To face p. 435.

THURSDAY, JULY 7th, 1921.

At Penrith Castle, Colonel Haswell described the work recently done for H.M. Office of Works by Mr. J. Leeming under the direction of Mr. C. R. Peers, Chief Inspector of Ancient Monuments, in clearing the ruins and preparing them for preservation, as part of the town's memorial park. Colonel Haswell's former description, written before these explorations, is printed in these *Transactions*, N.S. vii, 281-291 ; further remarks by Mr. J. F. Curwen are in vol. xviii, 174-188. At this meeting Colonel Haswell pointed out the newly found gatehouse in the moat, which he thought had probably been a dry one, and its doorway with the holes for the bars and the place of the portcullis ; the prison, now freshly vaulted ; another gateway with portcullis on the side of the Station Road ; the kitchen, on the opposite side of the courtyard, with its lower rooms, shown by the corbels to be only five feet high, and perhaps used as store-rooms ; the brewhouse, bakehouse and adjoining chamber, mentioned in the Elizabethan survey, and other rooms beyond ; the remains of two staircases, and the well, partly cleaned out, in the courtyard. On the N.E. side he showed traces of a small tower in the roof for an outlook-post, and of the chapel, which he placed in the upper storey in that corner. Beneath it was a small room which Mr. Curwen had taken for a prison, but Colonel Haswell regarded as a place for drying and curing meat. He differed also from Mr. Curwen about the position of Bishop Strickland's tower, which he thought was in the western corner (see plan, these *Transactions*, N.S. vii, 281).

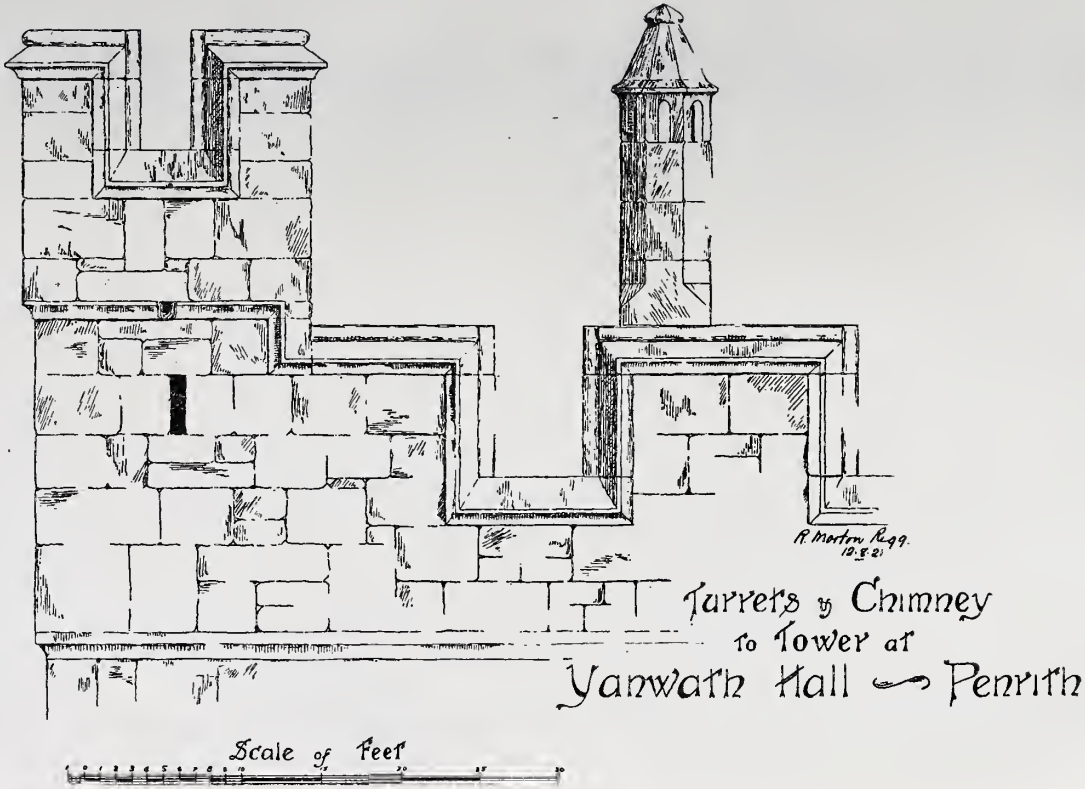
Replying, Mr. Curwen gave his reasons for believing that the Bishop's tower was not that in the western corner, namely, that the bishop is said to have used material from Penrith fell, that is, red stone ; while the western tower is of white Lazonby stone : that the western tower is too small for a pele-tower, and that it would not have faced the approach of the enemy, as pele-towers were usually planned to do.

At Yanwath Hall the speaker was Mr. R. Morton Rigg, M.S.A., who referred to the Society's visit in July, 1867, when the late Dr. M. W. Taylor gave a description afterwards expanded to a chapter in *Old Manorial Halls*. To this there is little to add concerning the building. Of the families of Threlkeld and Dudley who anciently inhabited it there are full accounts by the late W. Jackson of St. Bees in these *Transactions*, O.S. ix ; an interesting article by the Rev. F. W. Ragg in N.S. ix gives the agreement under which Sir Henry Threlkeld engaged to serve under the Earl of Salisbury in the French wars, 1431 ; and in the Rydal Hall MSS

are further details of the Threlkelds. As to this picturesque manor-house, the S. side of the courtyard is occupied by the tower, the hall and the kitchen; on the E. and N. were the granary, barns and bakehouse. The ancient gate was at the N.E. angle, with guard-chambers beside it and the watch-tower above. The entrance to the dwelling-house is through an arched doorway deeply recessed, with round, hollow mouldings. The pele-tower at the W. angle, with battlements and with watch-towers at each corner, is the oldest part, and was probably built about the middle of the 14th century. It consists of three storeys, the vaulted chamber on the ground floor, the solar or lord's chamber, and the ladies' chamber; these last are reached by a newel staircase. The floors are of oak and the ceiling in the ladies' chamber is a fine example of mediaeval woodwork with carved tie-beams, framed and panelled. The octagonal chimney is a unique piece of work, and worthy of note in connexion with the problem of carrying the flue past the parapets of a defensible roof [see Mr. Curwen's remarks on Bewcastle, p. 190 of this volume]. The buildings on the E. side of the tower were probably erected later; they consist of the dining-hall, kitchen and other offices. The hall is unfortunately now divided into smaller rooms and the timber roof covered by a plaster ceiling. Many alterations, however, were made by Lord Dudley in the 16th century and the windows show the transition from the Decorated to the Perpendicular.

At the end of this address, for which the President returned thanks, the party walked to the brink of the ravine of the Eamont and viewed the ancient ford. It is usually supposed that Yanwath is a contraction of Yamonwath (or Eamont-wath), but the earlier forms of the name,—1226, Ywaneworth; 1241, Yavenwith; etc.—make this easy explanation rather doubtful.

Askham Hall, described on this occasion by Mr. H. G. Gandy, has been so fully treated in the last volume of these *Transactions* by the Rev. F. W. Ragg, that it is unnecessary to repeat the details. Among other points of interest, Mr. Gandy called attention to the straight mural staircase (see plan, *Trans.* N.S. xxi, 225) from the top of which he said a spiral stair had led to a tower above, probably obliterated by Dr. Jackson's alterations in the 19th century. He also said that in the chimney of the hall there was a large chamber, which could not be cleaned when the chimney was swept unless a boy was sent up with a broom. The Rev. T. B. Tylecote, who lived there many years, had told him also that in the passage between the strong-room and the hall, the wall sounded hollow when it was tapped, indicating a space yet unexplored


R. Morton Rigg.
12.8.21
Turrets & Chimney
to Tower at
Yanwath Hall ~ Penrith
Scale of Feet

above the staircase landing. "Major Featherstonehaugh had found a similar loft in the college at Kirkoswald, which contained a pair of jackboots: possibly Major Wingate might discover a pair of jackdaws."

Colonel Haswell pointed out the stone with a rude coat of arms, built into the courtyard. He suggested that it represented two boar's heads with three chaplets or annulets, for Lascelles and Swinburne.

Mr. J. F. Curwen also spoke on the pele-tower. He said:—"The Rev. F. W. Ragg and others have come to the conclusion that a good portion of the original pele-tower, built by Edmund and Idonea de Sandford in the 14th century, still exists; indeed, far more than I was able to acknowledge in *The Castles and Towers of Cumberland and Westmorland.* And to support this view they point out, (1) the thickness of the walls of the main front block; (2) the presence of a vaulted chamber at its western end; (3) the fact that a straight mural staircase in the north wall leads up from this room to the first floor; and (4) the existence of a pointed-arched doorway with rudely carved heads on the label. That is to say, they think that there is sufficient evidence to prove that a good proportion of the lower storey of the pele tower exists and that a hall has been added up against it at a later period.

As against this conclusion may it be noted:—

(1) That the foundations of the whole front block, roughly measuring 76 by 37 feet, are without doubt of one period. They consist of huge boulders laid upon the surface of the ground, exposed to view, and projecting considerably beyond the superimposed masonry. Further, that the same deeply splayed plinth course continues around the whole block, and that in no place does it mitre and return into the wall, as if a portion of it had surrounded, at one time, a smaller tower. So that, unless it be contended that a huge pele tower covered the whole site, the foundations alone disprove the supposition.

(2) The vaulting over the western end room, it will be noted, spans the longer axis. In early pele-towers the necessary vaulting of the basement was always a difficult matter to construct, so that it invariably spanned the shorter axis. We generally find it of rude workmanship and allowing of only sufficient head-height in the basement beneath. But here we find the vaulting not only taking the longer axis of the room, but of good construction, and of a height rising up to some 18 feet from the floor.

(3) The presence of a mural stairway does not of itself necessi-

tate a 14th century building, for as often as not we find it in 15th century work as at Howgill, Workington, etc.

(4) The pointed and double-arched doorway, it will be noted, is far too wide and too high for an entrance-door into a tower primarily built for defence; moreover, instead of taking advantage of the extra thickness of the wall, just beside it, so as to add to the strength of this vulnerable feature, it pierces the thinner wall. It will also be noticed that it does not enter into the vaulted chamber, as we should expect it to do if it were the entrance to the pele, but it enters direct into the hall; neither is the mural staircase in connection with it. Again, I would draw attention to the fact that each stone of this doorway is marked with a double V mason's mark, and that there are no other mason's marks visible about the building.

(5) It must not be overlooked that the chief characteristic of a dwelling of the 14th century was its capability of defence. All offsets or projections to which scaling-ladders could be hitched were scrupulously avoided, but here we find offsets at each of the floor-levels, which clearly speak of the quieter days of the 15th century. On this point I understand Mr. Ragg to suggest that the whole building must have been incased with an outer layer of masonry when it was converted into a building of the Renaissance period, but this is not the fact, as we can see to-day the marks in the walls where the Tudor and earlier windows at one time existed.

I am convinced that we have here, in the front block, the thick walls, or shell, of an exceptionally fine hall of the 15th century; a hall that was re-roofed and greatly altered during the late Tudor period, but most likely before the rebuilding of the courtyard by Thomas Sandford in 1574; and a hall that was again remodelled in the spirit of the Renaissance at a date after the restoration of King Charles II."

Professor Ekwall said that the place-name, originally *Ascum*, was probably Old English or Anglian, "at the ashtrees"; while Asby, formerly *Askebi*, was the Norse or Danish dwelling of someone named Askr.

The President returned the thanks of the Society to Major Wingate for his kind reception.

On the village green of Askham twenty minutes were spent in taking a picnic luncheon in the bright and warm sunshine which favoured the meeting throughout; for this was in the middle of the long drought which made the summer memorable. The carriages were left at Askham Fell-gate and the party walked over Moor Divock, where the President pointed out the famous pre-

historic burial-places. Time did not allow a visit to the Copstone which was seen in the distance, but from "Standing Stones" (no. 4 of Dr. M. W. Taylor's plan in these *Transactions*, o.s. viii), the circles and cairns were followed N.W. to White Raise. Though it appears that some stones have been removed, most of the sites were found as described forty years ago, including traces of the kind of avenue irregularly connecting the circles—a puzzling feature, for which no explanation was attempted. The fine circle known as the Cockpit, and the Roman road (High Street) near it were also visited. Several apparent circles not on the maps were noted, and it is to be hoped that we may have a fresh and thorough survey when occasion allows.

After tea at Pooley Bridge, Barton church and Kirke were described by Mr. J. H. Martindale (Art. xiii). Thanks for kind reception were given to the Rev. T. Sharp, and to Mr. Hogg, the tenant of Barton Kirke.

On arriving at Penrith, meetings of the Council and of the Committee for Parish Registers were held; and in the evening the annual meeting took place at the George Hotel, the President in the Chair. Minutes being read, the officers of the Society were re-elected, and twenty-two new members were added to the list:—Mr. John Parkin, The Sands, Appleby; Mr. George Dickinson, Red How, Lamplugh; Mr. John Byers, 11, Humbledon View, Sunderland; Miss Janet A. Jones, Burneside, Kendal; Miss E. Gertrude Frost, Oakburn, Windermere; Mrs. Dwyer, Rocklands, Kendal; Mr. T. D. Shepherd, 2, Carlton Terrace, Penrith; Mr. Charles S. Jackson, Hazel Bank, Yanwath; Mr. John D. Johnstone, Eden Lacy, Lazonby; Mr. T. S. Strong, The Elms, Wetheral, Carlisle; the Rev. Canon T. B. A. Saunders, The Abbey, Carlisle; the Rev. E. A. Savage, Raughton Head Vicarage, Dalston; Mr. H. S. Graham, St. Martin's, Wetheral, Carlisle; Mr. John Wright, 5, Marlborough Gardens, Carlisle; Mrs. Willans, The Yews, Bongate, Appleby; the Rev. Lancelot G. Bark, The Cathedral, Carlisle; Mr. Ronald L. N. Carr, Langarth, Brisco, Carlisle; Mr. Alfred Smith, Hoff Bank, Appleby; Mr. Walter Gatwood, Kynance, South Road, Ashley Heath, Hale; Mrs. Harris, 4, Scotch Street, Whitehaven; Capt. Wingate, Askham Hall, Penrith; Mr. Alfred Heaton-Cooper, Norwegian Studio, Ambleside.

Mr. Edward Wilson, Hon. Secretary, made a financial statement from which it appeared that in the year ending June 30th, 1921, the balances on all accounts had increased; twenty-seven new members had been elected, twenty had resigned and three had

died, leaving a roll of 504. A large proportion of members had responded to the invitation to raise their ordinary subscriptions from half a guinea to a guinea, which greatly relieved the strain on the Society's resources.

The President congratulated the Society on the improved outlook and thanked the members who had so generously answered the appeal. Meanwhile the Parish Registers Committee had also found it necessary to ask for additional help, in view of the increased cost of printing. It was, therefore, proposed by Mr. Ruston-Harrison, seconded by Mr. T. Cann Hughes and carried unanimously that Rule V (1) be altered to read, "The Parish Registers Section, founded in 1911, annual subscription one guinea, for which members shall receive the yearly volume of Registers."

The President said that he thought it not out of place to mention a useful piece of work done by a member in furtherance of the Society's aims. He alluded to Mr. R. O'Neill Pearson's purchase and intended repair of Cartmel Priory Gatehouse, which the Society in 1919 found in a neglected and ruinous condition. This action on the part of Mr. Pearson would preserve an interesting building on which, as it appeared, no Society or Fund was able to spend money, though all agreed in the desirability of the outlay.

Mr. R. Morton Rigg then exhibited the lower part of a green-glaze jug or bottle, found by Miss Moorhouse at Arnside. At Silverdale, near the eastern shore, there are traces of an ancient pottery, perhaps mediaeval, of which no record is known. This jug, like other pieces of similar ware found in the neighbourhood, may have been of local manufacture.

Mr. R. G. Collingwood read a paper on "Problems of the Roman Wall, past and present," which will appear in the *Journa* of the Society for Roman Studies. The President read Sir S. H. Scott's paper, "A Footnote to the Flemish Tradition in Kendal" (Art. VII), and gave a summary of papers by Miss Fair on "Bloomery Sites in Eskdale" (Art. VIII), and on "Eskdale Green" (Art. IX); also "The Port of Ravenglass," by the Rev. Cæsar Caine (Art. X).

FRIDAY JULY 8th, 1921.

On entering Brougham Castle each visitor received a copy of the plan (p. 147), which enabled the audience to follow Mr. Curwen's account of the history (Art. XV). Mr. R. G. Collingwood shortly discussed the Roman fort on the site and the Roman tombstone built into the keep (Art. XIV).

At the Countess's Pillar, Colonel Haswell related the story of the parting between Anne, countess of Pembroke, and her mother on that spot (these *Transactions*, N.S. iii, 362).

Newbiggin Hall was described by Mr. J. H. Martindale (Art. XVI). At the conclusion of his address the President expressed the thanks of the Society to Mr. Dayrell Crackenthorpe, who was unavoidably absent, and to Mrs. Dawson, the housekeeper, for kind reception; and the visitors were able to see through the house, interesting, not only on account of its architecture, but for fine pictures and pieces of furniture.

The coaches next halted at Gullom Holme and the party went up on foot to Howgill Castle, a hot walk in strong sunshine. At the house, before the address by Mr. Martindale (the substance of which can be read in these *Transactions*, N.S. ix, 198-201), Mr. T. Cann Hughes made the suggestion that on our excursions members who carry cameras should send copies of their photographs to the Hon. Secretary to be preserved for the Society. Such contributions will be very acceptable.

Three new members were then elected: Mrs. Walker, Greenbank, Whitehaven; Mrs. Thompson, Croft House, Penrith; and the Rev. J. Llewellyn, Felsteads, Arnside.

At the conclusion of Mr. Martindale's address the President thanked Mr. and Miss Mitchell for the opportunity of seeing the house, and Mr. Mitchell was congratulated on his recovery from the injuries he had sustained in the railway accident at Plumpton. The party walked down to Gullom Holme, where they ate their sandwiches by the roadside, and proceeded to Milburn. Unfortunately, some of the foremost carriages lost the way, and Mr. D. Scott's paper at Milburn Church was missed by many members. It ran as follows:—

Milburn Church.

'Milburn, which like so many of our local villages, was once probably much more populous and important than now, is away from the chief highways in each direction, and so escaped the notice of travellers like Pennant and Housman. The chief investigators into the history of Milburn have been members of our own Society, and probably the first reference to it in our publications is in a paper by the Rev. Thomas Lees read at Penrith in 1874. Other articles are by Mr. J. G. Goodchild (these *Transactions*, O.S. vi.) and the Rev. R. S. E. Oliver (N.S. ix).

The church is some considerable distance from the village, and in an isolated position near Milburn Beck. The name was Milne-

brunn in 1200 (*Feet of Fines*) which appears to be Old Norse for a mill on a beck (Sedgefield, *Place-names* of *C. and W.*, 164). The dedication to St. Cuthbert has suggested to some that the saint's body may have lain here (about 876) for a brief time during its long pilgrimage. The Rev. Thomas Lees in his paper on "An attempt to trace the translation of St. Cuthbert through Cumberland and Westmorland," read at Penrith in June, 1874 (these *Transactions*, o.s., ii, 14), remarked that "From Salkeld the party would proceed to Edenhall, and then, in turn, would rest at Clifton, Cliburn, Milburn, and Dufton." The late vicar, the Rev. R. S. E. Oliver, when we last visited Milburn in the autumn of 1908, went further, and suggested that there was no reason why the saint should not have visited, or at any rate have passed through, Milburn during his lifetime.*

The existence of numerous pieces of ancient masonry shows that a church stood here during the Norman period, while it is certain that there was not always such a small building as this. The Rev. W. D. Tyson, who was vicar from 1858 to 1864, "made a series of excavations outside the site of the present church, with the result of discovering distinct traces of a much larger building." Certain it is that the church we see now is an example of "shreds and patches," and, as Mr. Goodchild said, "is an aggregation of structures of very different ages."

In the days when so many of our ancient parishes were of immense size, Kirkby Thore stretched from the Eden to the county boundary on the Pennines, Milburn and Temple Sowerby being merely chapels of ease, though in each case buildings of ancient foundation. The great Robert de Veteripont, one of the most prominent men in the early records of the county, among his many other transactions purchased the advowson of Kirkby Thore, with the two chapels. Dr. Burn recorded that in his time the original purchase deed was still at Appleby Castle; if so, we may

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* It is hardly necessary to say that dedication does not prove the presence of the saint, or, in this case, of the pilgrims with St. Cuthbert's body in 876. Hawkshead, for example, where Mr. W. Jackson thought they built a church (*Papers and Pedigrees*, i, 84), was pretty certainly not inhabited at that time; there are no traces of Anglian occupation in the valley, and a tradition could not have been handed on to the Norse, who settled it not earlier than the middle of the tenth century. Nor can we believe with the Rev. T. Lees that the cave on the Eden called "The Chairs of the Twelve Apostles" was prepared by pious natives as a temporary resting-place for the pilgrims (o.s. ii, 18). Milburn, by its name, seems to be not earlier than Hawkshead; and the church, by its earliest stones, and the fact that it was a chapel of ease, has no certain history before the end of the eleventh century.—Ed.

be certain it is in existence yet. By the terms of the parchment "Adam, son of Waldeve of Kirkby Thore, grants to Robert de Veteripont the advowson of the church of Kirkby Thore, with all the liberties and dignities to the said church belonging, as well in the chapels of Soureby and Milleburn, as in land and other possessions." This transaction took place somewhere between 1199 and 1216, in the reign of King John. When Bishop Nicolson made his visitation to Milburn on August 19th, 1703, he found a number of matters about which to complain, and not least the fact that the curate (the Rev. Robert Moore) was paid too much, and his "standing salary" was the munificent sum of £25 per annum! That amount had been allocated—with a similar sum to Temple Sowerby—to be paid by the rector of Kirkby Thore in accordance with a deed signed by the rector (the Rev. Edmund Wickens, 1699—1722), the patron (Lord Thanet, to whom it had descended from the Veteriponts), and Bishop Smith. Dr. Nicolson railed about this money in his record concerning Kirkby Thore, as being "unjust both to ye present and succeeding Rectors," and repeated it when writing of Milburn. This arrangement, however, was not modified until nearly half a century later. On a paper preserved in the registers it is stated that an agreement was signed in August, 1752, by Lord Thanet, the Bishop (Osbaldeston), the rector (Carleton Atkinson), the curates of Milburn (Wm. Kilner) and Temple Sowerby, and representatives of Queen Anne's bounty, that in consideration of Lord Thanet giving £300 each to Milburn and Temple Sowerby, and the Governors another £200 to each chapel, Lord Thanet was to have the patronage of the two places, while the rector was only to pay each curate £15 per annum, instead of £25. The severance, one may add in passing, and as completing the history, was not completed until 1880, when the tithes were conveyed to the vicar of Milburn, and the £15 payment was discontinued.

When antiquaries come to Milburn they invariably look first for the stones bearing two dials, which are built into the west jamb of the south doorway. They were noticed by Mr. Goodchild and by the Rev. W. S. Calverley in his volume on the "Early Sculptured Crosses, etc.," reprinted from a paper in these *Transactions*, o.s. viii, 223, communicated at Alston in July, 1884. The stones are obviously not in their original position, the lower dial being much too low to have served its purpose of denoting the time. One of its rays protrudes beyond the circle, but it is not certain that the projecting mark was part of the original carving. The upper dial is placed upside down—in other words the seven

rays are pointing upward. Mr. Calverley pointed out that this was a very early dial, and the two stones were very fortunate in being preserved by the builder who erected the Transitional Norman doorway. One may remark, by the way, that the present entrance was only re-opened in 1894, when the church was restored ; previously, for a long time, the entrance was through the west end.

Two interesting specimens of grave slabs are at Milburn. Against the east wall inside the porch is a slab bearing a floriated cross in a circle, lozenge shaped in the centre, with shears on the dexter side. The second grave slab, in the west wall, is carved all in relief. It has a plain floriated cross, damaged, or weathered, at the top, and at the foot is a wheeled circle with eight spokes, and the book of the Gospels on the sinister side. Both are shown in Canon Bower's plate, these *Transactions*, N.S. vii, 171.

Against the exterior south wall is a much mutilated 15th century effigy in white stone, 4 feet long, which the Rev. W. D. Tyson discovered during his excavations. It is not of the stone of this neighbourhood, and Mr. Goodchild suggested " that the stone had been carved at a distance and afterwards brought here." It has been called " the Crusader, or Knight Templar," and our Editor (Mr. Collingwood) has said that " it seems to represent a male figure in a costume like that of the late 13th century effigy at Kirkland." Other writers in our *Transactions* and elsewhere have declared the figure to be that of a lady " clad in robe and girdle," head, hands, and feet missing. If the latter, one might suggest that, if the assumption as to age is correct, there are two ladies whom it might represent. Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John de Lancaster (who held the manor of Milburn), became the wife of Robert de Crackenthorpe, and she became the owner of Howgill Castle. Or it might have been her grand-daughter, Anne Crackenthorpe, for she had Howgill for her property, and brought the manor to the Sandfords on her marriage to Sir Thomas Sandford of Askham. The Sandfords of Howgill long had an aisle on the south side of the church, which was in a ruinous state at the time Bishop Nicolson visited the parish (August, 1703).

At that period there were what the Bishop described as " a couple of small pitiful bells, both miserably cracked ; and some time ago [the parishioners] petitioned for leave to have them both new founded into one good one. This I assented to," added the Bishop, " but I do not see that anything is like to be done in it without some sharp treatment of the churchwardens in the next year's visitation." Whatever was done in the way of " sharp

treatment," the church has still two bells, though they are certainly not "miserably cracked" for they seem to be new, and probably were put in when the church was restored in 1894. Possibly the first change was made when the church was repaired in 1787-8.

You may have noticed when coming through the gate leading from the main road to the church that there is a broken red sandstone cross socket, 24 inches by 24 inches by 17 inches, which Mr. Collingwood attributed to the type of bases belonging to the mediæval high crosses (*Early Sculptured Crosses*, 237). The stone, which doubtless once stood in the churchyard or its vicinity, has been degraded to holding a stone post in the socket-hole. There is a similar stone holding the maypole on the village green.

Mr. Bartram has kindly placed for inspection the church plate, which consists of a plain silver cup and paten cover, bearing the date letter of 1633-4, the same date—and probably by the same maker, the two chalices being of the same pattern, with a difference of only one quarter inch—as that of the mother church. The marks are also the same as at Kirkby Thore, and under the foot of the chalice is the word "Milburne."

The registers of the parish are of unusual interest in several respects. The oldest affords another example of the narrow escapes from destruction experienced by such records. The first set of fourteen unbound leaves, from 1678 to 1719, was, Mr. Oliver records, "discovered in 1759 by the Rev. T. Kilner, the then curate of Milburn, among some old papers that were found in one of the houses of the village." These and the two bound volumes have been transcribed by Dr. Brierley. They were published in 1913 by the Parish Register section of our Society, being brought down, as is customary, to 1812. The earliest entry is the record of "Christning" or rather the admission into the church of Lancelot Machell, son of Hugh, of Crackenthorpe Hall. The child had been born at the house of his uncle, another Lancelot Machell. I mention the fact only for the purpose of asking a question. The record says that the child was "admitted into the congregation and signed with the signe of the crosse according to ye order of the Church of England at the font in Milburn church ...his mother being churched then, who according to custom paid her Kend & 2½d., the ancient offering upon that occasion." What is the meaning of the word "Kend"? I do not find it in any dictionary or other book.'*

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* See p. 260 of this volume.—Ed.

After a long drive through Blencarn and Ousby, Melmerby Hall was reached, where Colonel Haswell spoke on the Threlkelds, who owned the place as early as 1381, and held it until it passed (in 1701) through their last heiress to the Pattensons, who continued long in possession. The details are printed in these *Transactions*, O.S. x., in an article by the late W. Jackson, F.S.A. The house, through which the kindness of Mr. and Mrs. Thorman enabled us to look, is an interesting building of the Stuart period, placed in picturesque surroundings.

Loss of time between Gullom Holme and Milburn threw the timetable out, and at the gate leading to Long Meg, those who had to catch a train transferred to cars homeward bound. A considerable party was left to see the Bronze Age interment circle at Maughanby, with its ring-and-spiral marked stone (figured in these *Transactions*, N.S. ii, 381), and the great circle of Long Meg and her daughters. The President briefly mentioned various theories of its origin :—that which makes these great megalithic circles, as well as circles of small stones, to be sepulchral ; the idea of some that they were Norse doomrings ; the late Mr. George Watson's attempt to explain it as a sun-temple ; Mr. Hadrian Allcroft's recent theory that such circles were meeting-places of the Brythons, dating after about 400 B.C. ; and expressed his belief that the ordinary attribution to the late Stone Age was not yet superseded. As to the markings on Long Meg, he thought that they had been cut after the stone was in position. Such markings are usually attributed to the Bronze Age, and to burial-sites. He alluded to the late Canon Thornley's idea (these *Transactions*, N.S. ii, 380) that they represented an early alphabet brought from the East ; to Mr. Enri M. S. O'Hanluain's theory that they were of the nature of Celtic oghams, and to Mr. W. Paley Baildon's suggestion that some of them were symbolic of " houses of the dead." Attention had been recently given to the subject by others, he said, but the results were not known. Meanwhile, it looked to him as though some Bronze Age people had used Long Meg, already standing there, as a grave-monument ; but this suggestion could be tested only by digging of so difficult and delicate a kind that it could not be easily attempted.

Autumn Meeting.

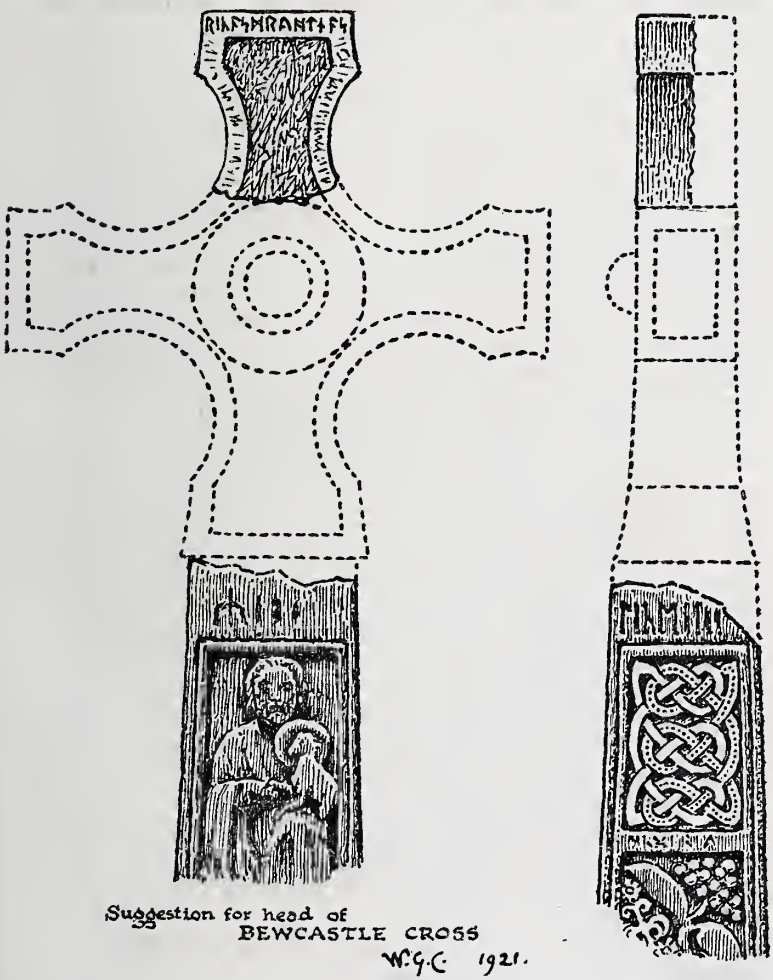
The Society met at Carlisle, with excursions to Bewcastle and Croglin, on Tuesday and Wednesday, September 13th and 14th, 1921 ; arrangements being made by Messrs. J. H. Martindale, F.R.I.B.A., H. Penfold, W. T. McIntire, B.A., H. W. Cousins,

M.Sc, and Edward Wilson, Hon. Secretary. The following took attendance-tickets:—Messrs. W. G. Collingwood and H. G. Gandy; Lt.-Col. Bates and Miss Bates; Mr. and Mrs. T. B. Nelson; Col. John Parker of Browsholme; Rev. C. E. Golland; Messrs. W. N. Ling, Joseph Sharpe; Mr. and Mrs. Henry Lonsdale; Sir Samuel and Lady Scott; Messrs. Charles Collison, Harold Duff; Mr. and Mrs. H. R. Hulbert; Messrs. John F. Curwen, Robt. G. Airey; Rev. W. F. and Miss Gilbanks; Messrs. R. G. Collingwood, Francis Grainger; Rev. Canon Matheson and Miss Matheson; Mr. and Mrs. Legh Tolson; Mrs. Calverley and Miss Lees; Mr., Mrs. and Miss Kathleen Irwin; Messrs. Daniel Scott, McIver Buchanan; Mr. and Mrs. H. S. Graham; Rev. E. W. Savage; Rev. Norman A. Walton; Mr. T. W. Helme; Miss Annie Heald; Messrs. Charles S. Jackson, R. Morton Rigg, William Gill; Rev. W. D. Auden and Dr. A. W. M. Auden; Mrs. N. N. Caddow; Messrs. H. Penfold and R. Wrigley; Col. and Mrs. H. A. Inglis; Mr. W. T. McIntire; Dr. Ronald C. Shaw; Miss M. E. Creighton; Mr. and Mrs. J. H. Martindale; Capt. R. Trevor Jones; Mr. and Mrs. A. W. Rumney and Mr. E. G. T. Liddall; Mrs. Horrocks; Mr. John Sewell; Rev. B. G. R. Hale; Miss H. M. Donald, Mrs. Dixon and Mrs. Carr; Mr. F. G. Simpson; Mrs. Roe; Miss E. G. Frost; Miss M. Lawson; Mrs. Abercrombie and party; Miss B. M. Halton; Mrs. Johnson; Mr. T. D. Shepherd; Dr., Mrs. and Miss Hopwood; Mr. L. E. Hope; Mr. and Mrs. John Wright and J. M. Wright; Mrs. Thomson; the Bishop of Jerusalem and party; Rev. R. S. G. and Miss Green; Mr. P. H. Fox; Mr. and Mrs. T. G. Charlton; Mr. Joseph Cooper; Mrs. Hodgson, Workington; Dr. and Mrs. Parker, Rowrah; Rev. W. E. Copeland; Miss Eva MacInnes; Mr. H. E. Scarborough; Lt.-Col. and Mrs. Green-Thompson; Miss Macray and Miss M. K. Macray; Mr. J. Procter Watson and party; Mr. J. Watson, Kendal; Mr. C. Courtenay Hodgson; Archdeacon and Chancellor Campbell and Mrs. Campbell; Mrs. Scott-Steele; Dr. Lediard; Messrs. W. B. Leigh, A. Heaton Cooper and H. E. Hall; the Hon. Geoffrey Howard and Mrs. Howard and Mr. Harold Baker; Dr. and Mrs. Arnott.

Tuesday, September 13th, 1921.

Leaving Carlisle by motor-cars at 10-30 a.m. we reached Shank Castle in an hour, and Mr. W. T. McIntire described the site (Art. XVII). The President proposed a vote of thanks, which was heartily accorded, to Mr. Waugh, the owner and occupier, for his most hospitable reception.

In another hour's drive, Bewcastle was reached, where, after a picnic luncheon the party was joined by a large number of school-children from Brampton, and the President attempted to state some recent opinions relating to the cross, with a few general



remarks for the benefit of the mixed audience. During the address rain came on, and by the kindness of the rector, the Rev. H. W. Joyce, the party moved into the church for the rest of the reading. The substance of the earlier part of this paper is well known to

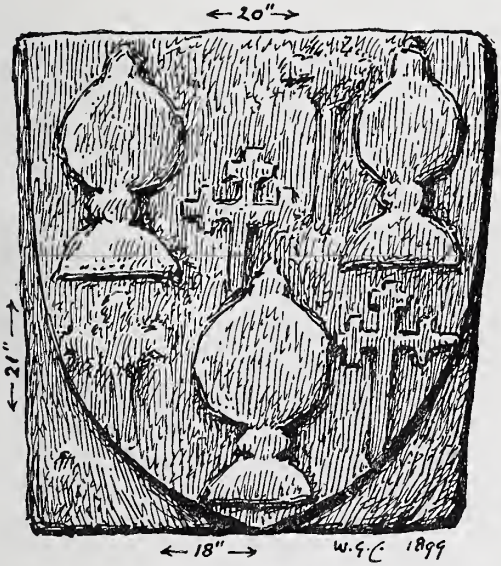
readers of these *Transactions*; in the later part the speaker referred with satisfaction to the detailed study of the runes by Professors Baldwin Brown and Blyth Webster in the volume on the Ruthwell and Bewcastle crosses, published 1921. That study, he said, seemed to have set at rest any doubts as to the possibility of the language and writing in the later part of the 7th century A.D., or, as Professor Blyth Webster had told him, a little later. There were reasons why an 8th century date was preferable. Taking the series of pre-Norman monuments in their general line of developement, it appeared that the tendency of the designers was to simplify their work as time went on. The earlier plaits are elaborate and symmetrical, made from one band returning upon itself. The designers of the tenth century were content with mere loop-and-twist, repeated to give richness of effect. Between the two stages there was a period in which the endless band was broken up, first into two members and then into more, in order to make the labour of design easier. Some of the plaits of the Bewcastle cross are formed of two members (as shown in the illustration), and this suggests that the design was not made when Anglian monumental art was in its infancy, though at a time when it had by no means begun to decline—that is to say, during the second half of the 8th century. This date, the speaker argued, would meet many of the difficulties raised by those who could not accept the actual period of King Alcfrith's death, some 70 or 80 years earlier; and he thought that a cross *in memoriam* of a dead hero, whose fame was for some reason revived, was not without parallel. Alcfrith himself died "under a cloud"; but after King Eadberht's victory of 756 over the Strathclyde Britons there might have been an occasion for this monument, just as the people of Dewsbury appear to have put up a cross inscribed to St. Paulinus two hundred years after his death, because they claimed some connexion with his early missionary efforts.

The illustration also shows a suggestion of the missing head. The fragment sent by Lord William Howard to Cotton in 1618 was called an *epistylium*, which usually means an "impost," but in that time meant a "capital" (see the quotation in N.E.D. of date 1623) and the uppermost arm of an Anglian head like that at Ruthwell might easily have been taken for the capital of a "Gothic" pillar by antiquaries of 300 years ago. The fracture would naturally occur at the narrow part of the arm, and the length of the fragment, 16 inches, gives the approximate size of the head. Its width, 12 inches, gives the dimensions of the cross-arms, and its thickness, 4 inches, together with the fact that no

carving seems to have appeared at the back, suggests that part of the stone was flaked off from an original thickness of 8 inches. The runes, RIKÆS DRYHTNÆS, would run along the frame, as at Ruthwell, and their size would be much the same as that of the runes on the Ruthwell head and on the frames of Bewcastle shaft. With this restoration in the mind's eye, we could see the whole of the Bewcastle cross, finding it strictly analogous to other examples of the best style of Anglian monumental art.

At the castle, Mr. John F. Curwen read a paper (Art. XIX), and briefly described Peelohill (see his *Castles and Towers*, p. 389), a visit to which was prevented by the weather.

Moving to the Demesne farm, the President pointed out the coat of arms on a voussoir or key-stone built into the barn. This was noticed by Dr. Evans of Newcastleton and described by Canon Wilson of Dalston in the *Scottish Historical Review* of April 18,



STRIVELYN ARMS AT BEWCASTLE.

1918. It had been previously mentioned in Thomas Denton's MS. of 1688 as upon the castle gate and Denton thought it commemorated the building of the castle by Robert de Vallibus, "who killed Gils Bueth with a dagger,"—for there, people said, was the dagger to prove the story. The old legend of the treacherous murder of Gilles was recorded earlier by John Denton, and its

sequel was supposed to be the founding of Lanercost priory in expiation. Hence the inscription in runes, forged on a rock at Barnspike, on the moor two miles east of Bewcastle, where—apparently to hoax Mr. Maughan—somebody scratched the words reading in English, " Baran wrote [this] for Gilles Bueth who was killed in truce by Rab de Vaulks at Fetriana now Llanerkast." The hoax was successful, in spite of the odd travesty of the names; for Mr. Maughan was inclined to identify Lanercost with Petriana (now believed to be the Roman name for Old Carlisle) which the forger evidently meant, though he could not find a P in the late Runic alphabet. But this coat of arms, though not sensational, has an interest which Canon Wilson brought to light. He reads the arms as " crusilly of cross-crosslets, three covered cups." The supposed dagger is one of the cross-crosslets, still visible: in 1899, when Mr. W. G. Collingwood made the sketch here reproduced, more was seen—perhaps at present only obliterated by whitewash. The three covered cups cannot be meant for the garbs of the later Vaux, because that family always bore a checky fesse or bend, as well as the garbs. These arms, therefore, Dr. Wilson says, are those of de Strivelyn, who held the manor and castle from 1330 to 1391. The tinctures were *sable, the crosslets and cups argent.* The explanation adds to the history of the castle, and makes this relic, in Dr. Wilson's words, " one of the most ancient coats of arms, sculptured in stone, in existence in the county of Cumberland."

On the west rampart of the Roman fortifications Mr. R. G. Collingwood described Roman Bewcastle (Art. XVIII), and later, at Castlesteads, spoke on the altars collected there at the summer-house in the garden (Art. XX). The thanks of the Society for kind permission to see these stones as well as the valuable collection of Roman coins and jewels, were returned by the President to Mrs. Johnson of Castlesteads.

Drawdykes castle was described by Mr. W. T. McIntire. Acknowledging sources of information in papers by the late Dr. M. W. Taylor, Mrs. Hesketh Hodgson and Mr. T. H. B. Graham in these *Transactions,* and by Mr. J. F. Curwen in his *Castles and Towers,* he brought together the main points of the castle's history. It was probably a pele-tower belonging to the Aglionbys; but of this nothing is left except possible traces of foundations under the floor in the N.E. corner of the basement. Here, in 1645, Lord Kirkcudbright and Lt.-Gen. David Leslie made their headquarters during the siege of Carlisle. In 1676, John Aglionby, then recorder of Carlisle, built the house we now

see, placing on its battlements the three curious stone busts, and above the top middle window on the north the arms of Aglionby —argent, two bars, and in chief three martlets sable; with the date 1676. Into the fabric, which measures 42 by 27 feet, with longer axis lying E. and W., and with walls three to four feet thick, he built a Roman tombstone, inscribed to Marcius Troianus by his wife, and surmounted with a head under a gable and two lions devouring heads on the outer slopes of the gable. This was noticed by Camden, "in the house of Thomas, near the citadel" (of Carlisle); Horsley, who saw it in its present situation, said that it had come from Stanwix. The stone is given in Bruce's *Handbook to the Roman Wall.* Another stone, built in above a door in the basement of the modern house adjoining the castle, is inscribed ALANI DE PENITONA (with much more recent B. above and C.K. below), the name of the mayor of Carlisle in 1287, who died in 1291 or 1292, leaving lands in Cumbresdale and Carlisle. He also lent money to Edward I. in 1282 for his wars in Wales. About 1764 the part of the ancient building spared by John Aglionby was taken down, and the present farmhouse built. In 1775, at the Carlisle assizes, the ancient claim of Drawdykes to be toll-free of the city was upheld. The estate pays a prescription of 3s. 4d. to the vicar of Stanwix in lieu of tithes. In 1789, Drawdykes passed to John Orfeur Yates, in right of his wife, one of the four sisters and coheiresses of Christopher Aglionby of the Nunnery. Its present owners are Mr. and Mrs. Milbourne, to whom the thanks of the Society were offered for their courtesy in admitting the party, and for their kindness in clearing the Pennington stone of the paper with which it had been covered by a former occupier.

At the Crown and Mitre Hotel, Carlisle, a council-meeting was held before dinner. Among other business, arrangements were discussed for organizing local reports to H.M. Inspector of Ancient Monuments. It was resolved that the editing of the *Lanercost Register,* as vol. iv of the Chartulary Series, be put into the hands of Canon Wilson. [To the great regret of all, ill health now (1922) forbids Dr. Wilson to proceed with the work.] Messrs. T. H. B. Graham and R. G. Collingwood were nominated as delegates to the Congress of Archaeological Societies, Nov. 29-30. [At that meeting Mr. R. G. Collingwood was elected a member of the Council of the Congress.]

At the general meeting held at 8 p.m. at the same place, the President in the Chair, twenty new members were elected :—Mr. T. Gardhouse Charlton, 19, Chatsworth Street, Carlisle; the Rev. Norman A. Walton, Salvin House, Alston; Mr. Wm. Gill,

Stainton, Penrith; Mr. H. E. Scarborough, 22, Lowther Street, Carlisle; the Rev. Canon F. W. Matheson, The Abbey, Carlisle; the Rt. Hon. the Earl of Carlisle, Naworth Castle; Mr. Robert C. Chance, Morton, Carlisle; Mr. Richard Stanton, Aldcliffe Place, Lancaster; Miss Smith, Beetham; Miss Favell, Beetham; Mr. Hugh R. and Mrs. Hulbert, Rydal Mount; Mr. Thomas W. Helme, Springfield Hall, Lancaster; Miss Heald, 8, Castle Park, Lancaster; Mr. J. H. Osborne, Milton House, Burgh-by-Sands; Mr. Edward Cardwell, Lancaster; Miss B. Mabel Halton, 4, Norfolk Road, Carlisle; Mrs. Carr, Cavendish Mount, Stanwix; Mr. Edmund Lund, Carlisle City Treasurer, 172, Warwick Road, Carlisle. Mr. Joseph Cowper, Thackagate, Penrith, was elected on the following morning at Wetheral Priory.

The President mentioned the request of H.M. Inspector of Monuments for a scheme of local correspondents, under chief correspondents for the counties, to report from time to time on the condition of antiquities. This, he said, was now being arranged, with Mr. Martindale as chief correspondent for Cumberland and Mr. Curwen for Westmorland and North Lonsdale. [Since the meeting, Sir S. H. Scott has joined Mr. Curwen for Westmorland and North Lonsdale.] A proposal had been made by the Ancient Monuments Advisory Committee, as outlined in *The Times* of September 7th, to include ecclesiastical buildings under Government supervision, and church authorities were desired to form consulting committees in each diocese. This would be met in the diocese of Carlisle by the Chancellor's committee, already established, for making inventories of the fabrics and fittings of the churches. That committee, which was to meet next day, was already well advanced with its work.

Mr. F. Gerald Simpson spoke upon a problem connected with the Roman Wall, which he hoped to solve by digging within the next few weeks. In 1900, a ditch had been discovered, crossing the fort at Chesters in a line with the fosse of Hadrian's Wall. This, at the time, was taken to prove that the Wall had existed before the northern extension of the fort was built. It might, however, have been the ditch of an early small fort, and not the fosse of the Wall; in which case the enlarged fort was earlier than the Wall. By digging near the points at which the Wall joins the fort it could be discovered which of these views was correct.

Mr. R. G. Collingwood pointed out the value of the intended work and asked for subscriptions for the purpose, as the place was outside the area of this Society, to which its funds are devoted.

The President spoke in support,* and then called for a report on recent finds at Burgh-by-Sands. As the expected speaker was not present, Mr. R. G. Collingwood said that by the kindness of the churchwardens, Mr. Bertram Carr and Mr. Brown, the President, Mr. F. G. Simpson, Dr. Shaw, and himself had examined the small piece of wall exposed by digging foundations for the extension of the churchyard northwards, and had found other walls suggesting barrack-buildings of a Roman fort. But no objects were seen to prove the period, and it was hoped that further digging could be made in the spring (see p. 458).

Mr. Linnæus E. Hope, F.L.S., then exhibited articles which he described as follows :—

Ring-brooch and Bead Necklace.

These objects were found on July 1st, 1921, by Mr. Jas. Beaty, a farmer residing at Graham's Onset, near Road Head, Bewcastle, when cutting peat on Bailey Hope Common, about three quarters of a mile north of his house. The exact place is about five miles N.W. from Bewcastle church, about eight miles N.E. from Shank castle and eighteen miles N.E. from Carlisle.

The brooch is a complete ring, one and five sixteenths inch across, and was broken into four pieces when found. It has a pin about one and a quarter inch long which works in a slot in the ring. The ring is flattened and three sixteenths of an inch wide and the pin about the same width at its widest part. On the front of the brooch, starting to the right of the pin-head, is a cross pattée followed by an inscription reading ✠ IESVSNAZAREN (the Z reversed). The lettering is late Lombardic with the letter N in large capitals. The metal is good silver with just a trace of alloy, perhaps lead. I have submitted the brooch for inspection to Mr. Reginald A. Smith, F.S.A., of the British Museum, who says it is 14th century with one of the inscriptions usual on brooches of that period.

The necklace is even more interesting than the brooch. It consists of sixty-three beads of which fifty-five are amber, six are jet, and two are cubes of rock crystal. Of the fifty-five amber beads thirty-six are barrel-shaped and range from three-sixteenths to ten-sixteenths of an inch in length, and from an eighth to seven-sixteenths of an inch in diameter. Seventeen are round and

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* On October 1st he was able to see Mr. Simpson at work on the exploration of this point at Chesters, of which particulars are given on p. 462. He is glad to acknowledge subscriptions from Mr. R. G. Collingwood and Mr. McIver Buchanan for this object.

flattened and one is globular. The six jet beads are all barrel-shaped and are from five-sixteenths to seven-sixteenths of an inch long. They still retain much of their polish. The two rock-crystal beads are cubes ; one is three-eighths of an inch square, the other slightly less with splayed edges. Bead necklaces of amber with occasional rock-crystals are frequent in Anglo-Saxon graves, but jet is not usual. The workmanship of the necklace is good, especially the cutting and boring of the rock-crystals. Most of the beads of the softer materials are symmetrical in form and all have been highly polished.

The cord on which the beads were strung had entirely disappeared and they were all found lying loose in the centre of a peat when cut by the knife. A piece of material passing through a bead proved under the microscope to be peat fibre—a root of heather having grown through the hole. The peat bed in which these objects are found is only from eighteen inches to two feet in thickness and they were lying at about twelve inches below the surface.

The brooch and necklace have been presented to the Carlisle museum. [The arrangement of the beads in symmetrical form as a necklace is the work of Miss Collingwood.]

Roman Tile of the Ninth Legion, from Scalesceugh.

While draining operations were in progress during the spring of this year in the park to the south of Scalesceugh, an inscribed tile of Roman date was found. Mr. J. H. Harrison, the owner of Scalesceugh, immediately informed me of the find, expressing the opinion that the tile perhaps commemorated the Ninth Legion.

Examination proved that Mr. Harrison was right and that the tile undoubtedly is stamped with the name and titles of that famous legion, showing that it or a detachment of it was in or near Carlisle. The tile may have been used in the floor of a hypocaust or may have been simply a floor-tile made at Scalesceugh, for I am convinced that here was the site of a manufactory of the coarser kinds of Romano-British wares. It measures eleven inches across the flat, is broken across the top and is one and a half inch thick. Near the bottom on the front of the tile is a rectangular stamp, seven inches long and one and a half inch broad, bearing in raised letters : LEG VIIII H *i.e.* Legio nona Hispana :—The Ninth Legion (called) the Spanish.

This find further confirms the occupation of Carlisle in pre-Hadrianic times, for we know that the famous and unfortunate Ninth Legion was completely annihilated in the great rising in

North Britain shortly before the accession of the Emperor Hadrian in A.D. 117.

It is an interesting discovery as undoubted memorials of the presence of this legion in Carlisle or the neighbourhood have not hitherto been found. A broken tile found in Fisher Street in 1891 stamped with a letter G or C and five numerals similar to those on the Scalesceugh tile, broken through the last stroke, now may be accepted as of the Ninth Legion, as also a tile found at Scalesceugh in 1914 at the same time as the milestone dedicated to the Emperor Gordian III. The latter tile is broken off close after the V in the numeral. At the time I attributed it to the Sixth Legion, of which memorials are more common, but I now believe it to be, together with the Carlisle one, from the same hand and stamp as the undoubted Ninth Legion tile.

Britain was the grave of the unfortunate Ninth Legion, whose history shows a series of disasters in this country, first against the Britons and later against the Picts and Caledonians ; and it may be that the closing scenes in the history of the legion and its culminating tragedy took place on our countryside, a tragedy which, perhaps, led towards the formation of that most stupendous of all Roman works in Britain, the building of the great Wall.

A small bottle found in deep water in the Eamont by Mr. Henry Gandy, was also exhibited.

The President then read the introduction to " A Calendar of Grinsdale and Kirkandrews Documents " (Art. XXIII), and part of papers by Mr. T. H. B. Graham (Art. XI, XII).

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 14th, 1921.

The morning was very wet, but a large number of members joined the cars at 9 a.m. for the drive to Wetheral church, which was described by Mr. J. H. Martindale (Art. XXI), who also read a paper at the gatehouse of the priory (Art. XXII). The ground was too wet for the intended walk to Constantine's Cells.

At Corby Castle the party was kindly welcomed by Mr. Philip J. C. Howard and Mrs. Howard, who took the visitors all over the house, pointing out and describing the many objects of interest it contains, and most hospitably providing refreshments. A vote of thanks proposed by the President was very heartily accorded to Mr. and Mrs. Howard for their courteous reception. [An article, dealing especially with the more ancient part of Corby Castle, not previously described, is in preparation by Mr. J. H. Martindale.] By that time the rain had ceased and the sun was shining ; the rest of the day was brilliant.

Cumwhitton church was described by the Rev. A. M. McFarlan, vicar, who was thanked by the President for his address.

As the time was well in hand, a halt was made at Carlatton, where Mr. Hodgson of Carlatton shewed the two mediaeval grave slabs, one built into the wall of the barn, and one standing near the house, which Mr. Martindale described. Thanks were expressed by the President to Mr. Hodgson for his kindness.

At Croglin, the Rev. A. S. Newton, rector, described the rectory. From its walls ivy had been recently stripped, displaying the masonry of a small pele-tower, to which the rest of the building has been added. In the churchyard, the rector showed the ancient monuments—an effigy of a lady (traditionally a de Wharton); the graveslab inscribed "✠ hic jacet ī tumba Hisabela" (figured by the Rev. R. S. G. Green in these *Transactions*, o.s. xiv, 210); the slab found in 1878, inscribed "hic jacet in tumba Robertus Eps," probably de Chausé, who died in 1278, and others. The thanks of the Society were returned by the President to the Rev. A. S. and Mrs. Newton.

Spring Meeting.

The usual meeting for reading papers was held at Tullie House, Carlisle, on Thursday, April 6th, 1922. The President called attention to the interesting gift, for which he had returned the thanks of the Society to the donor, Lady Hope, of the original plan and notes of details of Furness Abbey, made by the late Sir William St. John Hope during his explorations of the abbey on behalf of the Society as reported in these *Transactions*, o.s. xvi.

The following new members were then elected:—Mr. H. E Ayris, Carlisle; Miss Emily Barnes, Carlisle; Mrs. Burrow, Windermere; Mr. J. R. Cardwell, Lancaster; Mrs. R. G. Collingwood, North Moreton, Wallingford; Miss Margaret Docker, Newby Head House; Mr. and Mrs. E. Lindsell Hunt, Carlisle; Lt.-Col. D. Mason, D.S.O., Workington; Mr. I. J. Postlethwaite, Seascale; Mr. Bruce Thompson, Windermere; Mr. Herbert Valentine, Workington; and Mr. Richard Winster, Shap.

Mr. R. G. Collingwood reported on three days' digging just finished at Burgh-by-Sands. The site of the Roman fort at Burgh had been conclusively identified in the course of examining the new extension of the churchyard. The fort turned out to be a large one projecting through Hadrian's Wall like, for instance, Chesters: the Wall underlay the Carlisle road, and the churchyard extension fell almost wholly within the *praetentura* of the fort. Stone barrack-blocks lying north and south occupied this area;

close to the hedge bounding the churchyard extension to eastward the fort-rampart, built of freestone, was found ; and in the S.E. corner of the same area the main east gateway was identified. [A detailed report will be given in our next volume.]

Dr. W. D. Anderson read a paper on the stone circle at Elva plain, and exhibited relics from the Spanish Armada ship *Florencia*, wrecked at Tobermory and recently investigated.

The President mentioned a report from Mr. H. S. Cowper, F.S.A. on the condition of the Swinside Circle, where initials had been lately cut on the stones. The Rev. Cæsar Caine said that respect for antiquities was one of the subjects which ought to be taught in schools. The President agreed, saying that he would like to add respect for historic sites by refraining from littering them with the rubbish of picnics.

The Rev. Cæsar Caine read a paper on the Pulpit and the tombstone to William Grainger at Waberthwaite, and exhibited a fine stone hammer recently found there.

Mr. J. R. Mason of Workington read notes on antiquities in the neighbourhood of Dean, with exhibits of a fine mediaeval skillet, a bronze palstave and a stone net-sinker, which he offered on loan to the Carlisle Museum.

Mr. Ayris and Mr. L. E. Hope, F.L.S., described recent finds in Fisher Street, Carlisle, with exhibits of the pottery, etc., unearthed during the last few days. Excavations on the site of the old Wesleyan chapel and of Wesley House, formerly occupied by the late Dr. Ford, organist of Carlisle cathedral, both 19th century structures, disclosed interesting remains of various periods. At the depth of 7 feet to 12 feet were found examples of 14th century green-glazed pottery, including the body of a large pitcher with a holding capacity of about two gallons, and of ware very thin for its size, and the handle of a ladle or saucepan. From 10 feet to 17 feet down were found numerous fragments of Romano-British pottery ; potsherds of decorated *terra sigillata*, form 37 of Dragendorff, of types and fabric of the Lezoux potteries, and undecorated vessels forms 31, 36, 38 and 45 Dragendorff. Three vases with potters' marks were found :—HABILISF from a form 43 Drag. vessel ; MINVSOF from a vessel form 35 Drag. and POPPPILVSF. The latter on a form 33 Drag. with the extraordinary spelling of three Ps, is possibly the work of a late Gaulish or German potter whose provenance has not been traced.

The usual fragments of amphorae, mortaria and other coarse wares turned up, the most interesting being an almost perfect example of a so-called " Incense Cup," 5¾ in. across the bowl and

$3\frac{3}{4}$ ins. high. It has the usual frilled cordons and a hole or socket in the base of the bowl. It is of fine white clay. The suggestion that these bowls were lamps is helped by the socket, which may have held a candle, and by the blackened condition of the inside. Fragments of Castor ware were found and several fragments of flat dishes similar to fragments found at Scalesceugh. Fragments of such vessels were found at the camp at Gellygaer, S. Wales, and are apparently of an early date.

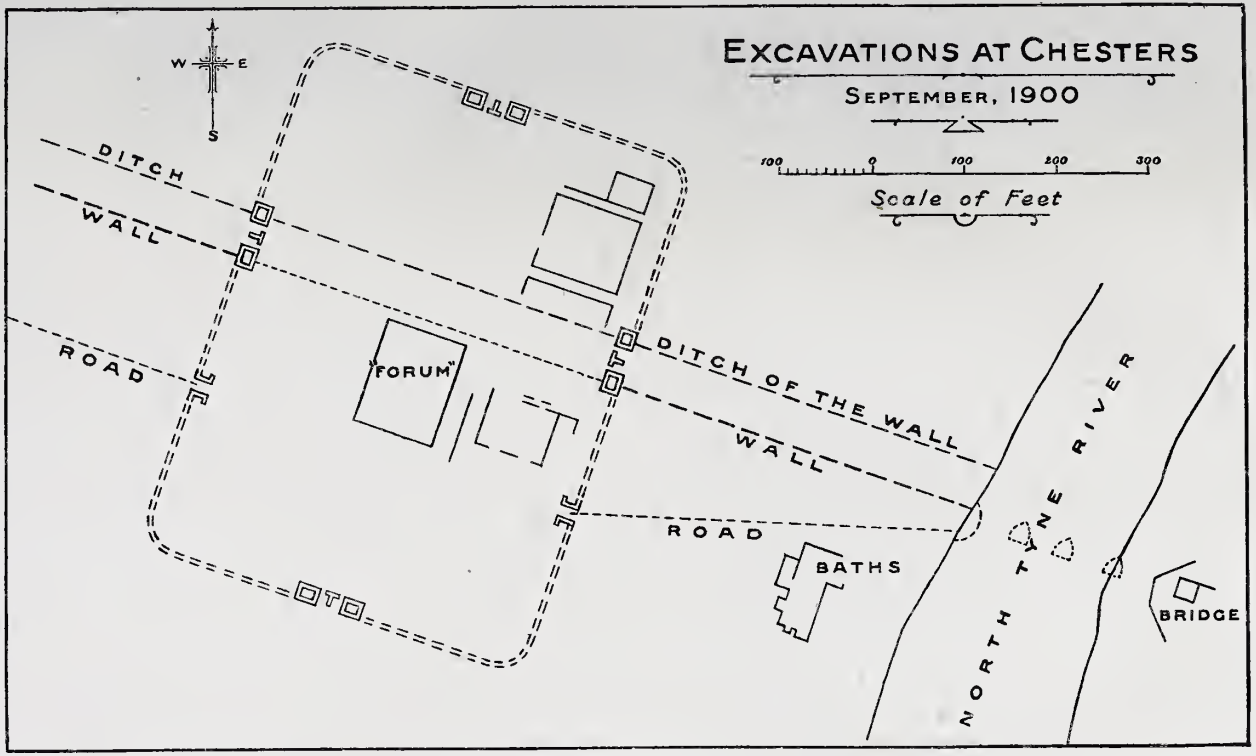
Several objects of leather, soles and parts of Roman sandals or shoes, were found about 14 feet down; one sole having the studs or nails set in a distinct pattern of a diamond on the sole and in a cross on the heel. In one of the deep shafts sunk for concrete foundations was found, at the depth of 17 feet, a fine silver brooch 2 ins. long of the harp-shaped or "Brough" type. At the depth of 14 feet a paved floor of cobbles was found; and about 6 ins. higher an elliptical row of flat stones, 6 ins. thick, possibly the foundations of a building. Above this was another floor of cobbles 18 ins. above the lowest; and 12 ins. above this was a third and similar floor.

It is greatly to be regretted that the exigencies of the builders and the wet substrata prevented the further examination and excavation of these floors. All the finds mentioned (along with others) are given to the Carlisle museum by the Trustees of the Wesleyan Hall, Fisher Street, Carlisle.

Messrs. F. Gerald Simpson and J. H. Martindale also spoke on the interest of this recent discovery.

The President then gave short accounts of the following papers: "Carleton-by-Penrith," "Sebergham" and "Hesket in the Forest," by Mr. T. H. B. Graham; "The passage of the Border by Aeneas Sylvius in the winter of 1435-6," by the Rev. Canon James Wilson, Litt.D.; "An early transcript of John Denton's *Account of Cumberland*, recently discovered," by Mr. Charles Warburton James; and "Genealogical gleanings relating to Cumberland," by Colonel J. P. Steel, F.R.G.S. The papers read at this meeting, for which there is not place in the present volume, we hope to print in our next.

[Since the meeting, Mr. William Lewthwaite of Broadgate, D.L., owner of Swinside Circle, has had the lettering erased from the stones, and has taken steps to have the circle watched. This will be the most efficient way of protecting the monument, and the thanks of the Society are offered to Mr. Lewthwaite for his action in the matter.]



From these *Transactions* N.S. i., 84, to illustrate Mr. F. G. Simpson's explorations, p. 462.

ADDENDA ANTIQUARIA.

Recent Exploration of Chesters.

In *Proc. Soc. Ant. Newcastle*, 3 ser. vol. x, no. 16, 1922, pp. 216—218, Mr. F. Gerald Simpson reports the result of his excavations at Chesters in October, 1921. It has long been observed that Chesters, like some other forts, appears to have been built before, and independently of, Hadrian's Wall: this was remarked in 1867 by Clayton. On the other hand Haverfield in 1900 (these *Trans.* N.S. i, pp. 84–88) found a ditch in line with the Wall ditch underlying the fort, and took this to mean that the fort had been enlarged northward after the building of the Wall. Birdoswald also has been enlarged northward, but *before* the stone Wall was built, and in 1920, at the N.W. corner, Mr. Simpson found evidence that Birdoswald, so enlarged, was planned as a separate work; that is, that Hadrian's stone Wall was an afterthought added when the enlargement had already been carried out. This suggested to Mr. Simpson that the same thing might have happened at Chesters. He therefore dug east and west of the fort at the points where the line of the Wall crosses the line of the ditch of the enlarged fort (plan p. 461): and found proof that this ditch had existed before the Wall. It had been filled up, in order to carry the Wall across it, and this artificial filling being less firm than natural ground had given and allowed the Wall to collapse. Only the south face, however, had so collapsed, because the ditch came to a butt-end underneath the Wall and its north face was founded on the causeway which had given access to the main gates. These, it will be remembered, are immediately north of the line of the Wall. Thus at Birdoswald, Great Chesters, Housesteads and now at Chesters Mr. Simpson has proved that the forts were not merely, as Hodgson and Bruce thought, completed before the Wall was built up to them, but—a further and wholly new point—that they were *designed* by Hadrian's engineers as isolated works, not intended to be connected by a continuous Wall; and that even when they were enlarged the project of a Wall was not yet formed.

Recent Finds at Maryport.

Mr. J. B. Bailey reported that the field S.W. of the Roman fort has been built over, and that by watching the progress of the work he has ascertained that whereas a short road left the S.W.

gate and led to the 'Campus Martius,' the main road to the south underlies Camp Road and must have issued from the S.E. gate. He has also located the northward road at a point in Bank End Lane 180 yards from the turn at Chapel Rivings (see map, these *Transactions* N.S. xv, 135), and again beyond the Cemetery. The road running east to Papcastle has also been traced by sounding between the fort and the river, and the pillar which incorrectly marks its site in the Park is to be moved. The work of the Housing Scheme has involved the destruction of Pudding Pie Hill, once believed to be a 'King's Burial Place': it now appears to have been a natural mound of boulder-clay, artificially enlarged into a platform whence military exercises could be watched. The collection at Netherhall has been augmented by a pivot-stone, an uninscribed altar 22 by 9 by 7 inches, and the plaster cast of a Maryport altar (C.I.L. vii, 371=*Lap. Sept.* 860 and no. 64 in Mr. Bailey's catalogue, these *Transactions* N.S. xv, 149) which was at Tullie House till the original stone was deposited there in 1907.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

" The Queen's College " by Dr. John Richard Magrath, Provost of Queen's College, Oxford (Clarendon Press, 1921 ; £2 2s. net) is an important work in two volumes containing the history of the House from 1341 until 1877. The bold and distinct print of its 850 pages and the excellence of its numerous illustrations attract the attention of the casual reader ; but its precise information, collected by an eminent scholar, intimately acquainted with the subject, will interest members of the University and be read with great attention by students of scientific history. Robert de Eglesfield, the founder, was chaplain to Queen Philippa, who joined in establishing the " Queen's Hall of Oxford," for he designates her *fundatrix dictae aulae.* He was a Cumbrian ; he endowed the foundation with his hamlet of Renwick, and directed that, in electing students, preference should be given to natives of Cumberland and Westmorland, especially to his own kin. Some familiar surnames of our district occur in the work. There is a note concerning the celebrated Cumbrian, Sir Robert Parvyng, who died in 1343. He was not a member of the college, but his widow was a benefactress. Three provosts, Roger Whelpdale (1404), Henry Robinson (1581) and Barnabas Potter (1616) became bishops of Carlisle. Of the fellows, Thomas Musgrave (1662) became archdeacon and dean of Carlisle, William Nicolson (1679) and John Waugh (1687-8) bishops of Carlisle. Henry Denton of Warnel was a fellow in 1659, and John Lowther, afterwards the first Viscount Lonsdale, entered the college as " upper commoner " in 1670. There is a description of the famous procession of the boar's head on Christmas Day. (T.H.B.G.)

" Feet of Fines, Cumberland, during the reigns of Edward VI., Mary, Philip and Mary, and Elizabeth," extracted from the Public Records by Colonel J. P. Steel, F.R.G.S., late R.E., member of the Harleian Society (privately printed ; 8 by 6½ ; pp. iv, 64 ; to be had of the author, 17a Longridge Road, London, S.W. 5 ; 10s.).

" The Household Account Book of Sarah Fell of Swarthmoor Hall " [1673–78], edited by Norman Penney, F.S.A. (Cambridge University Press, 1920 ; pp. xxxii, 597 ; £2 2s.). It is only owing

to the editor's error that a notice of this work was omitted from the last volume of these *Transactions*; for nothing more important as throwing light on our district in the 17th century has appeared for many years. The accounts give a curiously full and lively mass of information, not only about the early days of the Society of Friends, but also about the domestic affairs of a family which was by no means isolated from the world but played its part in all forms of country activity. We get much detail about agriculture, commercial ventures, wages and prices of commodities, dress and diet, down to George Fox's tobacco and his stepdaughters' gay stockings—grateful indications of the human side of the first Quakers and suggesting that some of them, at least, were less other-worldly than that body has been sometimes pictured. The intimacy and the authenticity of the accounts bring these people of 250 years ago close to us, as if we were watching them through a telescope. They gain by this clearer view; or perhaps it is we who gain by understanding them better. The volume is introduced by Mr. Brownbill with a lucid essay on Furness families and conditions at the period. It is closed with 74 pages of notes containing a vast amount of local history, indispensable to anyone who takes an interest in Lancashire North-of-the-Sands and the surrounding districts.

"Early Stages of the Quaker Movement in Lancashire, 1650—1720," by the Rev. B. Nightingale, M.A., Litt.D. (Congregational Union Publication department, Memorial Hall, Farringdon St., London, E.C.4., demy 8vo, pp. 180; 7s. 6d. net), and "The Heroic Age of Congregationalism" by the same writer (and the same publishers; 1s. 3d.) are by an eminent authority on Nonconformist history whose work is known for research and accuracy.

"A Border Yeoman; a tale of Cumberland," by the Rev. J. Hay Colligan (R. Aikman and Son, 20 Shudehill, Manchester: pp. 127; 2s.) The writer, whose articles are known to readers of these *Transactions*, portrays conditions of life in the Greystoke district during the 17th century, in a series of episodes rather than in a complete historical novel. His hero takes the side of the Roundheads, but has more love for the quality than for the Quakers.

"Lady Anne Clifford, Countess of Dorset, Pembroke and Montgomery, 1590–1676. Her Life, Letters and Work, extracted from all the original documents available, many of which are here printed for the first time," by Dr. George C. Williamson (Titus Wilson and Son, Kendal, 1922; pp. xxii, 547, with many illus-

trations—one of which, by the author's courtesy, is given in this volume facing p. 156. Crown 4to, 250 copies printed ; £2 2s.). Here is the 17th century from another point of view. The great lady is so widely known and so interesting a figure in our history that this book needs no introduction but the mention of her name and that of the distinguished author. In one chapter he does a distinct service to her memory, by disproving the authenticity of the curt letter (" I have been bullied by a usurper " etc.) which she is said to have sent to Sir Joseph Williamson.

" Guide to the Priory Church of St. Andrew, Hexham," by Charles Clement Hodges ; second edition by John Gibson, F.S.A. (Gibson and Son, the Old Pharmacy, Hexham ; 1921 ; pp. 121 and 32 illustrations ; 3s. 6d.) contains full and trustworthy information about this interesting church which our Society has more than once visited.

" The Runic Roods of Ruthwell and Bewcastle," by James King Hewison, M.A., D.D. (Reprint from the Dumfries and Galloway Standard, June, 1921 ; Hunter, Watson and Co., Ltd., Dumfries). In this pamphlet Dr. King Hewison, whose volume on the Ruthwell and Bewcastle crosses was mentioned in these *Transactions* N.S. XV, 203, states his objections to the reading of the runes by Professors Baldwin Brown and Blyth Webster. He considers the inscription " an unblushing fraud of no historical value whatever," but prints an interesting series of illustrations, from Smith in 1742 onwards which—allowing for early difficulties in transcription—prove that the runes were there more than a century before Mr. Maughan began to study them.

" Norse Influence in Dumfriesshire and Galloway ; History and Antiquities," by W. G. Collingwood (*Transactions* of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Nat. Hist. and Antiq. Soc., 1921).

" Ruskin's Philosophy," by R. G. Collingwood (T. Wilson and Son, Kendal, 1922 ; 1s. 6d.). An address delivered at the Ruskin Centenary Congress, Coniston, 1919, with a portrait of Ruskin.

" The Purpose of the Roman Wall," by R. G. Collingwood (*The Vasculum*, a North Country Quarterly of Science and Local History ; Andrew Reid and Co., Ltd., Newcastle-upon-Tyne ; Oct., 1921 ; 1s.).

"Roman Britain," by R. G. Collingwood (Oxford, Clarendon Press ; 2s.). A popular and well-illustrated outline of the history, social conditions, art, religions etc. of Roman Britain, including the results of the latest discoveries.

The Registers of Kendal, 1558–1587; Marriages; transcribed by Henry Brierley, LL.D., being the second part of the Kendal Registers issued to subscribers to the Parish Register Section of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian Society.

"The Place-names of Lancashire," by Eilert Ekwall, Ph.D., Professor of English in the University of Lund (Manchester, The University Press, Lime Grove, Oxford Road; 1922; pp. xvi, 280). In this work our member, Professor Ekwall, has given the results of great philological learning and research, combined with personal knowledge of the places described and sound scientific judgment of an unusually high character. The combination makes his book trustworthy; it shows a great advance in the study of place-names and all that can be learnt from them—no negligible part of history and antiquities.. A great part of the work comes into our district, as dealing with North Lonsdale; and it is not too much to say that most of our old puzzles are solved and floods of light are let into dark corners, by this brilliant investigation of the origins of our topography.

"A Catalogue of the Roman inscribed and sculptured stones in the Museum, Tullie House, Carlisle," by the late F. Haverfield. Second edition, revised and enlarged; edited by R. G. C[ollingwood]. Published by the Public Library and Museum Committee, Tullie House, Carlisle, 1922; pp. vi, 46, with many illustrations, 1s.

"Memories of Old Carlisle," by George Topping and John J. Potter with a foreword by the Very Rev. the Dean of Carlisle; thirty-two articles on the history of the city, written in a popular style, and sold for the benefit of the Cumberland Infirmary (*Journal* Office, English Street, Carlisle; 7s. 6d.).

In Memoriam.

Mr. Hubert Coutts of Hammarbank, Windermere, who died suddenly of heart-disease on December 7th, 1921, was born in London, the third of the five sons of the late Mr. and Mrs. Edward Tucker, formerly of Langdale and later of Windermere. One of his brothers was Bishop Tucker (bishop of Eastern Equatorial Africa 1890–99 and of Uganda 1899–1911). The brothers were early famous as football-players and fell-climbers; their great walk round the Lake District mountains in 1878 was for many years a "record." All the family painted pictures, and to avoid confusion some of them exhibited under assumed names; Mr. Hubert Tucker became known as Coutts. He was a landscape-painter of distinction, treating his subjects with delicacy and breadth; and he was President of the Lake Artists' Society from its formation in 1904 and a member of the Royal Institute of Painters in Watercolours. In local public life he was active and greatly valued; a magistrate from 1895, chairman of the Windermere Liberal Association, trustee of Queen Adelaide's Hill, Windermere, etc. Mr. and Mrs. Coutts were elected members of our Society in 1913.

Mr. Arthur Paul Brydson, M.A., J.P., who died on January 25th, 1922, aged 62, at Water Park, his residence at the foot of Coniston water, was a member of our Society from 1908. He contributed to these *Transactions* "Notes on a Westmorland Assize Roll of 1256" (N.S. xiii); information on St. Leonard's Hospital, Kendal (N.S. xvii); "Some Pre-Reformation clergy of Windermere" (N.S. xx); and wrote two volumes of considerable value in "Some records of Two Lakeland Townships; Blawith and Nibthwaite" (W. Holmes, Ltd., Ulverston; 1908) and "Sidelights on Mediaeval Windermere" (T. Wilson, Kendal; 1911). He assisted us also as a member of our committee for church inventories, and contributed the schedules for the rural deanery of Dalton. He was a member of the Ulverston Rural District Council and Board of Guardians, the Kent, etc. Fishery Conservators, and the North Lonsdale Unionist Association, and was for many years active in public work and highly esteemed in his district.

LIST OF MEMBERS

OF THE

CUMBERLAND AND WESTMORLAND ANTIQUARIAN AND ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

(COMPLETED TO JUNE 30TH, 1922.)

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PEERS, Charles Reed, M.A., Director S.A., Chief Inspector of Ancient Monuments, 14 Lansdowne Road, Wimbledon, London, S.W.19.

RAGG, the Rev. Frederick W., M.A., F.R.Hist.Soc., The Manor House, Lower Boddington, Byfield, R.S.O.*||

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1919 Adam, T., M.B., 48 London Road, Carlisle.
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1895 Ambleside Library, "Armitt Trust."*
1915 Anderson, Dr. W. D., Chestnut Hill, Keswick.
1911 Anderson, Rev. T. W., The Vicarage, Temple Sowerby, Penrith.
1912 ANDERTON, Henry Ince, Palazzo Capponi, 28 Via Gino Capponi, Florence, Italy.
1899 Archibald, C. F., 2 Darnley Road, West Park, Leeds.
1879 Argles, Thomas Atkinson, *Treasurer* (1908), Eversley, Milnthorpe.
1916 Ashby, Miss M. Ruth, The Mount, Wigton.
1907 Atkinson, William, The Rookery, Ulverston.
1920 Auden, Arnold Wm. Montford, B.A., M.D., Birch House, Leigh, Lancs.
1917 Auden, Rev. Walter D., Bainbridge Road, Sedbergh.
1917 Auld, J. H., 12 Scotch Street, Whitehaven.
1922 Ayris, H. E., 68 Lowther Street, Carlisle.
1911 Bailey, Charles Edwin, Howard Cottage, Warton, near Carnforth.
1913 Baily, Mrs. G. H. J., Christ's Church Vicarage, Penrith.
1913 Baily, Rev. G. H. J., Christ's Church Vicarage, Penrith.

1922 Barnes, Miss Emily, 7 Carlton Gardens, Stanwix, Carlisle.
1908 Barnes, T., Solicitor, Carlisle.
1920 Barnes, T. Ismay, Castlerigg, Keswick.
1921 Bark, Rev. L. G., The Cathedral, Carlisle.
1885 Barrow-in-Furness Free Library.*||
1913 Barrow Naturalists' Field Club (W. L. Page, Cavendish Street, Barrow).
1918 Bates, Lt.-Col. J. H., Fir Bank, Penrith.
1912 Bates, Miss, Fir Bank, Penrith.
1918 Baxter, Rev. William, Holm Cultram Rectory, Abbey Town, Carlisle.
1881 Beardsley, Richard Henry, Bay Villa, Grange-over-Sands.
1912 Beckton, John Backhouse, 81 Castle Street, Carlisle.
1919 Beetham, Chas. G., F.H.S., Windmoor Heath, Co. Cumberland, Pennsylvania, U.S.A.*
1910 Beetham, Dr. Frederick, Clifton End, Manningham, Bradford.*
1899 Bell, W. Heward, F.S.A., Cleeve House, Seend, Wilts.
1911 Bennett, Mrs., Whelpside, Hensingham, near Whitehaven.
1899 Bentinck, Lord Henry Cavendish, Underley Hall, Kirkby Lonsdale.
1919 Bewley, Mrs., Causa Grange, Rosley, nr. Carlisle.
1921 Binning, W. W. R., Riverscaur, Stanwix, Carlisle.
1919 Birkett, Mrs. J. Stanwell, Little Ellers, Keswick.
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1920 Blackburn, Mrs., Corbridge Vicarage, Northumberland.
1879 Blair, Robert, M.A., F.S.A., Harton Lodge, South Shields.
1902 Board of Education Library, Victoria and Albert Museum, Kensington, [S.W.
1899 Booker, R. P. L., M.A., F.S.A., Elmbridge, Droitwich.
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1898 Bowman, A. N., Wreay Syke, Carlisle.*||
1919 Bradford Public Library, Darley Street, Bradford.
1918 Braithwaite, Mrs. E. A., West Croft, Egremont, Cumberland.
1908 Braithwaite, J. W., Market Square, Kirkby Stephen.
1908 Breeks, Mrs., Helbeck Hall, Brough, Kirkby Stephen.
1919 Bridger, Hugh Lempriere, 19 Abbey Road, Barrow.
1910 Brierley, Mrs. H., Pooley Bridge, Penrith.
1907 Briggs, William, O.B.E., C.C., D.L., The Vale, Lancaster.
1906 Broatch, J., Solicitor, Stanger Street, Keswick.
1888 Brougham, The Right Hon. Lord, K.C.V.O., Brougham, Penrith.
1914 Brown, James Walter, 35 Chiswick Street, Carlisle.
1904 Brown, William, F.S.A., The Old House, Sowerby, Thirsk.
1914 Browne, Thomas, Broadgate House, Windermere.
1914 Bruce, Mrs., Wansfell, Windermere.
1913 Buchanan, McIver, 28 Chepstow Villas, Bayswater, London, W.
1905 Buckwell, G. W., Board of Trade Surveyor's Office, Market Place, Hul
1913 Burnett, Dr. J. R., Riverholme, Keswick.
1905 Burnett, James R., The Red Beeches, Scotby, Carlisle.
1915 Burns-Lindow, Samuel L., Greenlands, Holmrook, Carnforth.
1922 Burrow, Mrs., Ellerthwaite, Windermere.
1895 Butler, Wilson, B.A., Glebelands, Broughton-in-Furness.

1917 Byard, Rev. Canon, The Vicarage, Penrith.
1921 Byers, John, 11 Humbledon View, Sunderland.

1919 Caddow, Mrs., Edenfield, Stanwix, Carlisle.
1919 Cain, Capt. H. Porr tt, Graystones, Ramsbottom, Manchester.
1911 Caine, Rev. Cæsar, The Vicarage, Cleator, Cumberland.
1899 Calverley, Mrs., Wray Head, Holmrook, Cumberland.†
1898 Campbell, Ven. & Worshipful Archdeacon & Chancellor, M.A., The Abbey, Carlisle.
1921 Cardwell, Edward, Laurel Bank, Lancaster.
1922 Cardwell, J. R., Lancaster.
1878 Carey, Thomas, 23 Curzon Street, Maryport.
1921 Carlisle, The Rt. Hon. the Earl of, Naworth Castle, Brampton.
1899 Carlisle Public Library (L. E. Hope, Tullie House).*
1913 Carlisle, the Right Rev. the Bishop of, *Patron* (1920).
1917 Carmichael, Rev. T. A., Bolton Vicarage, Penrith.
1921 Carr, Mrs., Cavendish Mount, Stanwix, Carlisle.
1921 Carr, Ronald L. N., Langarth, Brisco, Carlisle.†
1897 Carr, Sidney Storey, 14 Percy Gardens, Tynemouth, Northumberland.
1907 Cartmell, H. Studholme, Heads Nook, near Carlisle.*||
1917 Chambers, Walter J., Ullcoats, Bidston Road, Oxton, Cheshire.
1899 Chance, Sir F. W., K.B.E., Morton, Carlisle.
1921 Charlton, T. Gardhouse, 19 Chatsworth Street, Carlisle.
1921 Chance, R. C., Morton, Carlisle.
1915 Chippindall, Col. W. H., Fairbank Cottage, Kirkby Lonsdale.*
1901 Chorley Free Public Library.
1899 Clark, John, Broughton-in-Furness.*
1893 Clarke, Rev. J. J., M.A., Selside Vicarage, Kendal.
1919 Clay, Rev. Canon, Miller Bridge, Ambleside.†
1903 Clayton, Mrs., Chesters, Humshaugh.
1905 Cock, Rev. E. H., Ings Vicarage, Kendal.
1910 Cole, T. E. Butler, Moresdale Hall, Kendal.
1894 Collingwood, A. H., Town Clerk's Office, Carlisle.
1887 Collingwood, W. G., M.A., F.S.A., *Editor* (1900), and *President* (1920), Lanehead, Coniston.*†||
1922 Collingwood, Mrs. R. G., Stapleton's Chantry, North Moreton, Wallingford.
1909 Collingwood, Robin G., M.A., F.S.A., *Editor* (1920), Pembroke College, Oxford.
1918 Collison, Charles, B.A., Lonsdale House, St. Bees.†||
1883 Conder, Edward, F.S.A., Terry Bank, Old Town, Kirkby Lonsdale, and Conigree Court, Newent, Gloucester.*
1921 Cooper, Alfred Heaton, Norwegian Studio, Ambleside.
1913 Copeland, Rev. Wm., St. Stephen's Vicarage, Carlisle.
1903 Coulthard, Dr., Yarrow House, Aspatria.
1913 Cousins, H. W., M.Sc., County Secondary School, Brampton.
1884 Coward, John, Fountain Street, Ulverston.
1886 Cowper, H. S., F.S.A., *Vice-President* (1904), High House, Hawkshead
1921 Cowper, Joseph, Thackagate, Penrith.
1915 Crackenthorpe, Dayrell, Newbiggin Hall, Newbiggin, Carlisle.

1885 Creighton, Miss, 1 Eden Mount, Stanwix, Carlisle.
1904 Crerar, Dr. J. W., 11 High Street, Maryport.
1886 Crewdson, F. W., *Auditor* (1906), Beathwaite, Levens, Milnthorpe.
1901 Cropper, Charles J., Ellergreen, Kendal.
1919 Cross, The Right Hon. Viscount, Eccle Riggs, Broughton-in-Furness.
1904 Cumberland and Westmorland Association of London (C. Maugham, Hon. Sec., The Park, London Road, Forest Hill, London, S.E.).
1910 Cumpston, Miss, Barton Hall, Penrith.
1900 Curwen, A. D., Workington Hall, Workington.‖
1899 Curwen, Eldred Vincent, Capo di Monte, San Remo, Italy.
1887 Curwen, John F., F.S.A., *Hon. Secretary for Correspondence* (1911), *Vice-President* (1922), Heversham, Westmorland.‖
1906 Curwen, Miss Patricia, Workington Hall, Cumberland.

1914 Danson, Sir F. C., F.S.A., Dry Close, Grasmere.*
1920 Davison, John J., 18 West Street, Wigton.
1907 Dent, R. W., Flass House, Crosby Ravensworth, Shap.†‖
1895 Devonshire, His Grace the Duke of, Devonshire House, Piccadilly, London, W.
1911 Dickinson, Frederick, The Towers, Cockermouth.
1921 Dickinson, George, Red How, Lamplugh, Cumberland.
1918 Dickson, Maurice, Levenside, Haverthwaite, Ulverston.
1919 Dixon, F. P., Wood View, Carlisle.
1886 Dixon, T., Rheda, Whitehaven.
1911 Dobson, William, Howgate, Brampton.
1922 Docker, Miss Margaret, Newby Head House, *via* Penrith.
1913 Dodd, Miss E. L., London Road, Carlisle.
1894 Donald, Miss H. M., Stanwix, Carlisle.
1909 Donald, Mrs. Sydney, Quarry Hill, Mealsgate.
1901 Doyle, Hugh, 4 Cringlethwaite Terrace, Egremont, R.S.O., Cumberland.
1918 Dransfield, G. R., Derwent Cottage, Portinscale, Keswick.
1921 Duff, Harold, Mowbray, Maryport.
1903 Dyson, Mrs., 37 Moor Oaks Road, Broomhill, Sheffield.*‖
1921 Dwyer, Mrs., Rocklands, Kendal.

1919 Eccroyd, Thomas B., Low House, Armathwaite.
1916 Edmonds, Charles, Dalzell Street, Moor Row, Cumberland.
1906 Edmondson, R. H., Brierswood, Sawrey, Windermere.
1917 Edmondson, Thomas, Carleton Terrace, Penrith.
1921 Ekwall, Prof. Eilert, Lund, Sweden.
1912 Ellison, John, Holme Wood, Cockermouth.
1917 Ellwood, Rev. R. D., Whittingham, Northumberland.

1911 Fair, Miss, The Ferns, Eskdale Green, Cumberland.
1887 Farrer, William, Litt.D., *Vice-President* (1903), Whitbarrow Lodge, Grange-over-Sands.
1921 Favell, Miss, Beetham, Milnthorpe.
1915 Fawcitt, Dr. Richard, Broom Hill, Broughton-in-Furness.
1912 Fell, Major, J.P., Brentwood, Caton, Lancaster.

1901 Ferguson, Major Spencer C., O.B.E., *Vice-President* (1920), Brocklehurst, New Forest.†||
1910 Fisher, Joseph, Higham, Bassenthwaite Lake, Cockermouth.
1886 Fletcher, W. L., Stoneleigh, Workington.
1884 Ford, John Rawlinson, Hon. LL.D., *Vice-President* (1914), Yealand Conyers, Carnforth.
1899 Ford, Rev. Harold D., Thursby Vicarage, Carlisle.
1907 Forster, R. H., F.S.A., Rest Dod, Coombeinteignhead, near Teignmouth, S. Devon.
1914 Foster, Allan, Swarthbeck Cottage, Pooley Bridge.
1904 Fothergill, Miss, Brownber Cottage, Newbiggin-on-Lune, Penrith.||
1911 Fox, P. H., M.A., High House, St. Bees.*||
1913 Frankland, Edward Percy, B.A., Ph.D., M.Sc., Needlehouse, Ravenstonedale.
1921 Frost, Miss E. Gertrude, Oakburn, Windermere.
1918 Fulton, E. A., Sedgwick, nr. Kendal.

1921 Gandy, Henry, M.A., D.L., C.B.E., Skirsgill Park, Penrith.
1920 Gardiner, Miss, Highfield, Kendal.
1910 Garnett, Miss, Fairfield, Windermere.
1915 Garston, Miss Gwendolen, Bowston Bridge, Burneside, Kendal.
1889 Gatey, George, Gale Bank, Ambleside.
1921 Gatwood, Walter, Kynance, South Road, Ashley Heath, Hale, Cheshire.
1877 Gibson, Miss M., Beckside House, Barbon.*
1911 Gibson, William, Greyfell, Penrith.
1885 Gilbanks, Rev. W. F., M.A., Great Orton, Carlisle.
1911 Gill, F. V., 42 Park Drive, Heaton, Bradford.
1921 Gill, William, Thorn Farm, Stainton, Penrith.
1906 Gillbanks, Plaskett, Clifton, Penrith.
1877 Gillings, Mrs., Broughton-in-Furness.
1916 Glaister, Professor John, M.D., F.R.S.E., The University, Glasgow.
1916 Glasgow University Library.
1911 Golland, Rev. C. E., M.A., The Vicarage, Glasson Dock, near Lancaster.
1910 Goodchild, Mrs. C. Waldon, Milburn, Newbiggin, Carlisle.
1913 Gordon, Mrs., 9 Scotch Street, Whitehaven.
1904 Gordon, Rev. C. J., Great Salkeld, Penrith.
1909 Graham, Hartley, The Larches, Penrith.
1921 Graham, H. S., St. Martin's, Wetheral, Carlisle.
1899 Graham, T. H. B., *Member of Council* (1912), Oxford and Cambridge Club, Pall Mall, London, S.W.*†||
1900 Grainger, Francis, Southerfield, Abbey Town, by Carlisle.
1893 Green, Rev. R. S. G., M.A., Wetheral Rectory, Carlisle.
1877 Greenwood, R. H., *Auditor* (1898), Bankfield, Kendal.
1913 Grice, Richard, Cross House, Bootle, Cumberland.
1921 Griffith, Herbert Troyte, 3 Blenheim Road South, Carlisle.
1901 Groves, W. G., Holehird, Windermere.||
1893 Guildhall Library, London, E.C.2 (Bernard Kettle, Librarian).*

1912 Hale, Rev. Bernard G. R., M.A., Edenhall Rectory, Langwathby.
1918 Hallaway, R. R., 5 Devonshire Street, Carlisle.

1921 Halton, Miss B. M., 4 Norfolk Road, Carlisle.
1878 Hargreaves, J. E., Shortlands, Kendal.
1912 Harris, Major Charles J. J., Royal Garrison Artillery, 14 Scotch Street, Whitehaven.
1921 Harris, Mrs. Charles J. J., 14 Scotch Street, Whitehaven.
1916 Harrison, J. R., Scalesceugh, by Carlisle.
1904 Harrison, Miss M. E., The Glen, Far Sawrey, Windermere.
1894 Harrison, Rev. D., M.A., Dunthwaite, Cockermouth.
1916 Hartley, E. L., Park Hotel, Preston.
1914 Harvard College Library, Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A.
1912 Haslam, Rev. J. P., M.A., Old Brathay, Ambleside.
1893 Haswell, Colonel John Francis, C.I.E., M.D., *Hon. Sec. and Treasurer Parish Register Section* (1911), *and Vice-President* (1913), The Friarage, Penrith.
1915 Haythornthwaite, Dr. E. Parker, Rowrah, by Workington.
1921 Heald, Miss, 8 Castle Park, Lancaster.
1915 Hedley, Oswald W. G., O.B.E., Briery Close, Windermere.
1908 Heelis, E. A., Bongate Cross. Appleby.
1908 Heelis, Mrs. E. A., Bongate Cross, Appleby.
1892 Hellon, Robert, Whinthwaite, Seascale, Carnforth.
1921 Helme, T. W., Springfield Hall, Lancaster.
1910 Henley, Lady Dorothy, 49 Montagu Square, London.
1890 Hewitson, William, Appleby.
1885 Hibbert, Percy J., Hampsfield, Grange-over-Sands.*†‖
1889 Higginson, H., 3 Warwick Road, Carlisle.
1920 Highmoor, Miss, Eden Cottage, Kirkby Thore, Penrith.*
1889 Hinds, Miss, 25 Howard Place, Carlisle.†
1899 Hobson, William Harrison, Maryport.
1915 Hodgkin, T. Edward, Old Ridley, Stocksfield, Northumberland.
1906 Hodgson, C. Courtenay, Devonshire House, Stanwix, Carlisle.*‖
1914 Hodgson, J., Cawsandside, South Zeal, Okehampton, Devon.
1918 Hodgson, Miss Katherine S., Newby Grange, Crosby-on-Eden, Carlisle.
1914 Hodgson, Mrs. Alice, Western Lodge, Workington.
1895 Hodgson, Mrs. Hesketh, *Member of Council* (1916), Newby Grange, Crosby-on-Eden, Carlisle.
1919 Holmes, Percy, Moor Row, Cumberland.
1895 Holt, Miss E. G., Sudley, Mossley Hill, Liverpool.†
1903 Holt, Lady, Blackwell, Windermere.
1913 Hope, Joseph Fearon, 17 Helvellyn Street, Keswick.
1920 Hope, Linnæus E., F.L.S., Tullie House, Carlisle.
1921 Hopewell, Donald G., Arkholme, by Carnforth.
1921 Hopwood, A., D.Sc., A.R.C.Sc., F.I.C., Springfield, Northumberland Road, Carlisle.
1912 Horrocks, Mrs., Salkeld Hall, Langwathby, near Penrith.
1882 Hothfield, The Right Hon. Lord, *Patron* (1882), Appleby Castle.
1898 Hough, Kighley J., 14 Portland Square, Carlisle.
1904 Houlgate, John William, 5 Threadneedle Street, London.
1909 Howard, Philip J. C., Corby Castle, Carlisle.
1914 Huntrods, Joseph, "Alameda," Whitehaven Road, Workington.
1895 Hudleston, Ferdinand, Hutton John, Penrith.*‖

1902 Hudson, Rev. J. Clare, The Briars, Woodhall Spa.
1905 HUGHES, T. Cann, M.A., F.S.A., *Member of Council* (1920), 78 Church Street, Lancaster.*
1921 Hulbert, Hugh R., Rydal Mount, Rydal, Westmorland.
1921 Hulbert, Mrs. Hugh R., Rydal Mount, Rydal, Westmorland.
1922 Hunt, E. Lindsell, The Probate Court, Carlisle.
1922 Hunt, Mrs. E. Lindsell, The Probate Court, Carlisle.
1913 Hutchinson, Sir Joseph T., Braystones, Beckermet.

1914 Inglis, Colonel H. A., Green Lane, Dalston, Cumberland.
1912 Irwin, Wilfred, Derwent Lodge, Cockermouth.

1921 Jackson, Charles S., Hazel Bank, Yanwath, Cumberland.*
1911 Jackson, Mrs. Edwin, Threlkeld Leys, Cockermouth.
1918 James, W. A., Church Street, Southwell, Notts.*
1908 Johnson, Miss Alice, Homestead, Craig Walk, Bowness-on-Windermere.
1916 Johnson, Mrs. E. L., The Croft, Bowness-on-Windermere.
1904 Johnston, J. Rooke, Coomb Eden, Armathwaite, R.S.O.
1921 Johnstone, John D., Eden Lacy, Lazonby.
1921 Jones, Miss Janet A., Burneside, Kendal.
1918 Jones, Trevor B., 9 Chatsworth Square, Carlisle.
1908 Jowett, John Samuel, 3 Windermere Road, Kendal.
1916 Jump, Rev. J. E., 6 Danes Road, Staveley, Kendal.

1921 Keeley, R. M., High Street, Wigton.
1917 Kelly, Paul Vincent, 37 Settle Street, Barrow-in-Furness.
1908 Kendal Public Library (J. Wilson Brown, Librarian).*
1898 Kendall, John, L.R.C.P. and S., Oaklands, Coniston.
1889 Kennedy, Myles, Stone Cross, Ulverston.
1914 Kenworthy, John D., A.R.C.A., Sea Croft, St. Bees.
1906 Kirkbride, Mrs., 40 Blencathra Street, Keswick.
1906 Kitchin, Rev. J. A., The Rectory, Kirkandrews-on-Eden.
1916 Kirk, Oliver, Ellerslie, Gosforth, Cumberland.

1902 Lancaster Public Library (J. M. Dowbiggin, Librarian).*||
1903 Law, Rev. R. H., Lazonby, Carlisle.
1918 Law, Sir Algernon, K.C.M.G., C.B., 74 Brook Street, London, W.1.*
1920 Lawson, Miss M., Castle View, Wetheral.
1911 Lawson, Wm. John, Westwood, Brampton.
1882 Lazonby, J., 9 Lenton Avenue, The Park, Nottingham.*
1889 Le Fleming, Stanley Hughes, Rydal Hall, Ambleside.
1897 Leconfield, The Right Hon. Lord, Petworth, Sussex.
1896 Lediard, H. A., M.D., 26 Lowther Street, Carlisle.
1917 Leech, William Henry Bragg, M.A., 16 Wordsworth Street, Penrith.
1901 Leeds Library (D. A. Cruse, Librarian).
1895 Lehmann u. Stage, Copenhagen.
1914 Leigh, W. B., Poolstock, Heaton Mersey.
1911 Lester, Herbert, Briar Cottage, Penrith.
1919 Lewthwaite, Mrs., The Railiss, Silecroft.
1916 Lightfoot, Ernest W., Birkby House, Stanwix, Carlisle.

1911 Lincoln's Inn, the Hon. Society of (A. F. Etheridge, Librarian).*
1907 Ling, W. N., Ashgate, Wetheral, Carlisle.
1892 Little, William, Chapel Ridding, Windermere.
1903 Little, W., Lowther, Penrith.
1883 Liverpool Free Public Library.
1911 Llewellyn, H. H., Inglemere, Arnside.||
1921 Llewellyn, Rev. J., Felsteads, Arnside.
1875 Loftie, Rev. Canon, M.A., Undermound, Rydal, Ambleside.
1916 Lonsdale, Henry, Rose Hill, Carlisle.
1875 Lonsdale, The Right Hon. the Earl of, Lowther Castle, Penrith.
1907 Lowry, Arthur, Neilston, West Byfleet, Surrey.
1921 Lund, Edmund, 172 Warwick Road, Carlisle.

1879 Machell, Lt.-Colonel Thomas, Ridding Bay, Lakeside, nr. Ulverston.
1915 MacInnes, The Rt. Rev. Bishop, D.D., Dykesfield, Burgh-by-Sands.
1919 Maeray, Miss, Whitefield, Mealsgate.
1892 Magrath, Rev. J. R., D.D., *Vice-President* (1905), Provost of Queen's College, Oxford.*||
1920 Maclaren, Norman, 23 Portland Square, Carlisle.
1912 Makant, Miss, Old Fallbarrow, Bowness-on-Windermere.
1906 Marsh, Richard T., High Peak, Kenyon, Manchester.
1894 Marshall, John, Derwent Island, Keswick.
1914 Marshall, Mrs. Stephen, Skelwith Fold, Ambleside.
1917 Martin, T. P., Seaton Park, Workington.
1893 Martindale, J. H., F.R.I.B.A., F.S.A., *Member of Council* (1909), Moor Yeat, Wetheral, Carlisle.
1921 Mason, Lt.-Col. Daniel Johnston, D.S.O., Allanfield, Workington.
1894 Mason, John, M.D., The Crossways, Cross-in-hand, Sussex.
1911 Mason, J. R., 37 Washington Street, Workington.
1888 Mason, Mrs., Redman House, Kirkby Stephen.
1889 Mason, W. J., Birrenswark, Bowness-on-Solway.
1921 Matheson, Rev. Canon, The Abbey, Carlisle.
1913 Maynard, Rev. G. F., Torpenhow Vicarage, Carlisle.
1917 McFarlan, Rev. Allan M., The Vicarage, Cumwhitton, Heads Nook, Carlisle.
1918 McGowan, James, Victoria Terrace, Whitehaven.
1921 McIntosh, J. G., B.Sc., Laythorne, Alston.
1904 McIntire, W. T., B.A., *Member of Council* (1920), Tullie House, Carlisle.
1911 McKelvie, George L., The Old Parsonage, Ponsonby, Calderbridge.
1902 Metcalfe-Gibson, Mrs. A., Cold Beck, Ravenstonedale.
1897 Millard, Rev. F. L. H., M.A., *Member of Council* (1899), Cold Norton, Essex.
1913 Miller, Thomas P., Merlewood, Grange-over-Sands.
1902 Monnington, Rev. Canon, Fairfield, Beacon Road, Penrith.
1909 Moor, Rev. Chas., D.D., 14 Lexham Gardens, London, W.8.*||
1917 Moor, S. A., M.A., The Grammar School, Kendal.
1913 Moore, Mrs., Ullcoats, Egremont, Cumberland.
1912 Moore, Wm. Parkin, Whitehall, Cumberland.
1916 Morris, Rev. W. P., Patterdale Rectory, Ullswater, Penrith.
1898 Mounsey-Heygate, Mrs. R., Docklow Court, Leominster.

1911 Musgrave, George, Galesyke, Wasdale, Cumberland.
1909 Musgrave, Percy, Ghyll Head, Windermere.

1899 Nanson, Ernest Lonsdale, The Croft, Seascale, Cumberland.‖
1908 Nanson, John, The Friary, Appleby.
1918 Nelson, T. B., Stratheden, Langwathby, Cumberland.
1912 New England Historic Genealogical Society, 9 Ashburton Place. Boston, Mass, .U.S.A.*
1897 New York Public Library, Astor Buildings, New York.
1919 Newberry Library, U.S.A.
1916 Newcastle Literary and Philosophical Society.
1909 Newcastle Public Library (Basil Anderton, Librarian), New Bridge Street, Newcastle-on-Tyne.*
1903 Nicholson, Francis, F.Z.S., Ravenscroft, Windermere.
1898 Nicholson, Miss Margaret, Carleton House, Clifton, Penrith.*
1908 North, Col. Oliver H., D.S.O., F.S.A., Newton Hall, Kirkby Lonsdale.
1910 North Lonsdale Field Club (H. B. Turney, Hon. Sec., Lightburn Avenue, Ulverston).
1905 Nuttall, John R., F.R.Hist.Socy., Thornfield, Lancaster.

1916 Orr, Dr. James, 17 Empress Drive, Walney, Barrow-in-Furness.
1921 Osborne, J. H., Milton House, Burgh-by-Sands.
1905 Oxford Architectural Society (C. F. Bell, Librarian), Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

1892 Park, James, C.P.A., 141 Broadway, New York.
1910 Parker, Col. John, C.B., F.S.A., Browsholme Hall, near Clitheroe Lancs.*
1899 Parker, Edw. J., Caerluel, 13 Alexander Road, Southport.
1914 Parker, F. C. F., Skirwith Abbey, Langwathby, R.S.O.
1920 Parkin, C. M., Hawksdale, Dalston.
1921 Parkin, John, The Sands, Appleby.
1883 Parkin, John S., The New University Club, St. James' Street, London, S.W.
1916 Pattinson, A., Kendal.
1918 Pattinson, G. H., Gossel Ridding, Windermere.
1914 Peabody Institute, Baltimore, U.S.A.
1918 Peacock, Miss, Greenend, Hawkshead.
1905 Pearson, Alexander, Abbots Brow, Kirkby Lonsdale.
1905 Pearson, R. O'Neill, 20 Cavendish Street, Ulverston.
1900 Pease, Howard, F.S.A., Otterburn Tower, Northumberland.
1900 Penfold, Henry, *Member of Council* (1914), 1 Lorne Terrace, Brampton.
1909 Penney, Norman, F.S.A., 42 Southcote Road, Bournemouth.
1896 Penrith Free Library.
1921 Petch, James A., 12 Sydenham Terrace, Sunderland.
1919 Petty, Miss Mabel, Holmleigh, Windermere.†
1887 Philadelphia Library Company, Philadelphia, U.S.A.
1903 Phillips, Rev. C. T., Ivegill Vicarage, near Carlisle.
1916 Pierpoint, Mrs. C. E., Brow Top, Warwick, Carlisle.
1913 Pope, Rev. R. M., Powter How, Keswick.

1911 Popham, Mrs. Leyborne, Johnby Hall, Greystoke, R.S.O.
1896 Postlethwaite, George B., Pwlholm, Primley Park, Paignton.||
1921 Postlethwaite, Isaac James, Fern Lea, Seascale.
1910 Potts, Charles E., 170 Rugby Road, Brooklyn, New York, U.S.A.
1917 Pratt, Dr. Eldon, Irish Street, Whitehaven.

1914 Ragg, Mrs., Manor House, Lower Boddington, Byfield, R.S.O.
1895 Ramsden, F.J., M.A., Abbotswood, Barrow-in-Furness.
1919 Randall, George, The Oaks, Bowness-in-Windermere.
1912 Randall, James, Stanley Mount, Ulverston.
1917 Rashdall, The Very Rev. Hastings, D.D., *Vice-President* (1917), The Deanery, Carlisle.
1921 Rawnsley, Mrs. H. D., Allan Bank, Grasmere.
1903 Rawnsley, Willingham F., Loughrigg Holme, Ambleside, and Shamley Green, Guildford, Surrey.
1892 Reade, Rev. Canon, M.A., Rayrigg Villa, Windermere.*
1916 Redmayne, W. B., The Village House, Dalston, R.S.O.
1910 Reid, R. C., Cleughbrae Cottage, Ruthwell, Dumfriesshire.||
1919 Rice, Mrs. Gerald Spring, The Tongue, Penrith.
1919 Richardson, James Alaric, Balla Wray, Ambleside.
1911 Richardson, John, Solicitor, Appleby.
1921 Richmond, Ian A., Buckley Hill House, Milnrow, Rochdale.
1901 Richmond, Robert, Plumgarths, Kendal.
1910 Rigg, R. Morton, Licentiate R.I.B.A., 46 King Street, Penrith.
1902 Rigg, Major Richard, 147 Victoria Street, London, S.W.1.
1884 Riley, Hamlet, Ennim, Penrith.
1906 Riley, Miss R. A., c/o Manager, District Bank, Grange-over-Sands.
1921 Rimmer, Rev. J. Stuart, M.A., F.R.Hist.Soc., Rectory, Ulverston.
1890 Rivington, C. R., Castle Bank, Appleby.†||
1912 Roberts, Rev. Arthur Senior, Rector of Tatham, near Lancaster.
1916 Row, Mrs. Leyland, c/o J. W. Shawe, High Street, Ongar, Essex.
1920 Rogers, Rev. H. G., Newton Arlosh Vicarage, Carlisle.
1900 Rowley, Mrs. W. E., Glassonby, Kirkoswald, R.S.O.
1918 Rudler, S. G., The Paddock, Hawkshead Hill, Hawkshead.
1903 Rumney, A. W., Keswick.
1905 Ruston-Harrison, C. W., F.S.G., *Editor of Parish Register Series* (1908), *and Member of Council* (1913), 8 Eden Terrace, Stanwix, Carlisle.*†||
1914 Rylands Library, The John, Manchester.*
1912 Rymer, Miss, Calder Abbey, Calderbridge.

1914 Sandys, Major George, Graythwaite Hall, Newby Bridge.
1921 Saunders, Rev. Canon T. B. A., The Abbey, Carlisle.
1921 Savage, Rev. E. U., Raughton Head Vicarage, Dalston, R.S.O.
1921 Scarborough, H. E., 22 Lowther Street, Carlisle.
1915 Scholefield, Cotterill, O.B.E., D.L., Newbiggin Hall, Carlisle.†
1908 Scott, Daniel, *Member of Council* (1916), 13 Brunswick Square, Penrith*||
1913 Scott, John, 7 West View, Ilkley, Yorks.||
1900 Scott, Rev. Alfred, Albyfield, Wetheral, Carlisle.
1904 Scott, Sir Samuel Haslam, Bart., *Member of Council* (1914), *Member of Parish Register Committee* (1915), Ferney Green, Windermere.*

1892 Scott, Sir Benjamin, Linden House, Stanwix, Carlisle.‖
1904 Scott, T. Taylor, F.R.I.B.A., Lowther Street, Carlisle.
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CAPITAL ACCOUNT.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Life Subscriptions	52	5	0	Invested in War Loan	19	0	0
Dividends from War Loan..	4	5	9	Balance in Bank..	39	7	9
Bank Interest	1	17	0				
	£58	7	9		£58	7	9

GENERAL ACCOUNT.

RECEIPTS.				£	s.	d.
Balance from last Account				17	16	3
Subscriptions received :—						
328 @ 21/-	344	8	0			
169 @ 10/6	88	14	6			
1 @ 10/-	0	10	0			
2 @ 5/-	0	10	0			
				434	2	6
Donations :—						
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Sales of Back Parts				1	16	0
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				£476	19	6

EXPENDITURE.	£	s.	d.
Congress of Archæological Societies, 1920-21, 1921-22 Subscriptions	2	0	0
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Printing and Binding Vol. XXI., N.S. *Transactions*	302	16	2
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	£55	0	5		£55	0	5

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